SPECIAL ISSUE ON MORALE

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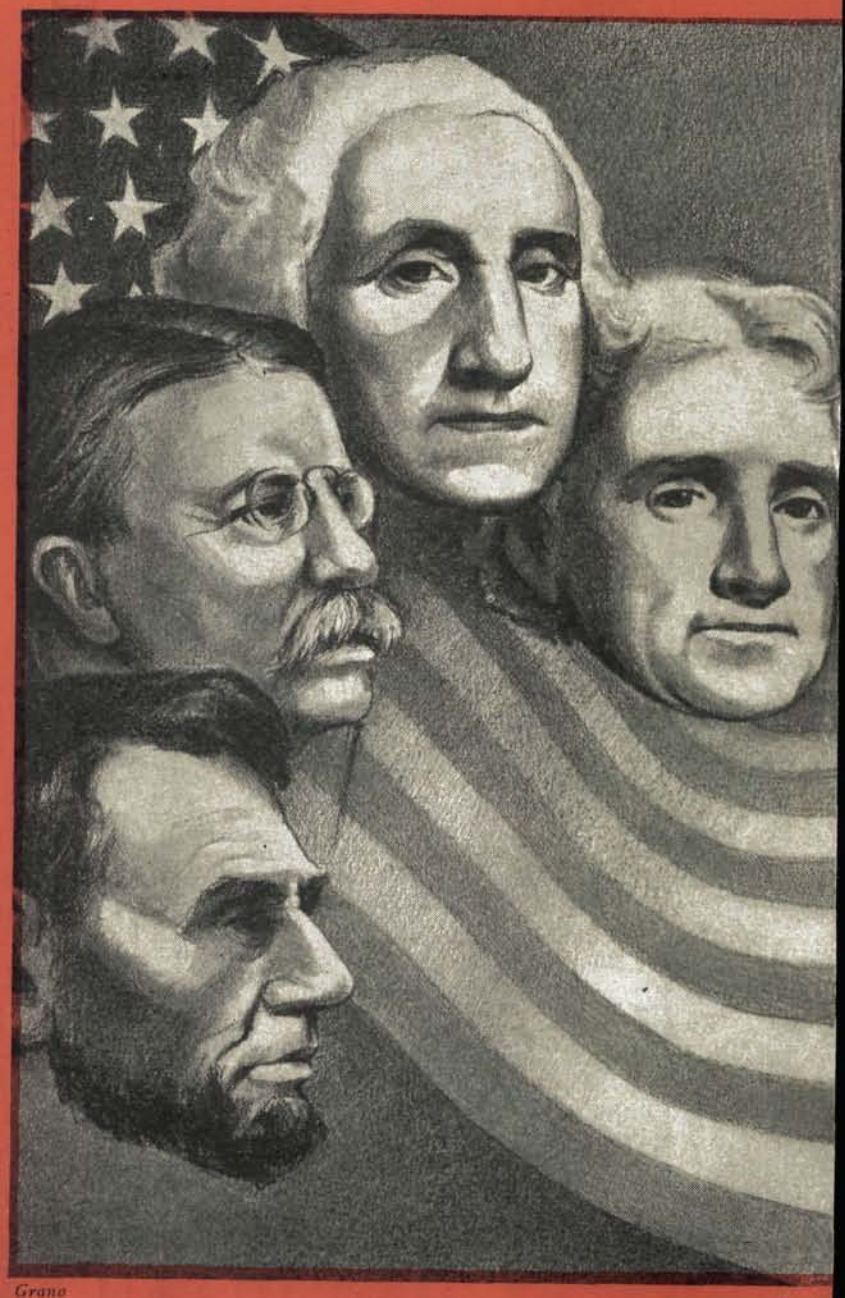

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The Saturday Review of Literature

War Morale and the Writer

To Keep Alive A Positive Fighting Faith in Democracy

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

A STATE of war unifies and regiments a people. You cannot have the advantages of unification without its disadvantages. It is absolutely necessary, at the present time, that the American people should work as one, with victory as a goal clearly before them; victory first; absolute and unquestionable victory over the Axis Powers. We are already making sacrifices, and we shall be called upon to make many more. We are, in fact, just at the beginning of the duties we must assume to bring victory to pass. Already the more cantankerous and selfish Americans are beginning to fidget and complain about "not seeing the necessity" concerning a number of war measures. The old whine about dictatorship and bureaucracy is still heard in the land. Unfortunately the word "Liberty" can be seized upon, and has been cherished in the past, as license for the individual to say "To hell with the Community!" That is not and has never been the American ideal of Liberty; but it is what uncontrolled Free Enterprise has sometimes done to it. Today we are being reminded of our duties as good citizens and responsible human beings. It is about time too.

Will a state of war, in a democracy, regiment thought? Obviously, in a state of war, you cannot speak as freely as in a state of peace. You cannot tell all you know. You must be careful not to give "aid and comfort" to the enemy. Neither should the responsible citizen indulge in hasty and ill-considered criticism of the governmental effort. (Plenty are so indulging, nevertheless.) But constructive criticism of practical value is still welcomed. And, to judge by the flood of books discussing the war from almost every angle, our thought concerning it is noticeably free. It is inevitable of course, in any great effort of organization, that certain people in minor positions will, temporarily at least, abuse authority. There are always those who do so. The more limited the intelligence the more certain is it that the possession of a little authority will inspire stupid action. No people is free from such self-elected censors. But they are in the minority.

Is the writer, however, to restrict his thought, to confine himself merely to certain lines of reasoning, in order to help preserve his country's morale? That is the way things work under a dictatorship. But in this country we are trying to spread the widest possible knowledge concerning this war, concerning its roots, and the actual facts that confront us in the world today. Any addition to that knowledge is welcome. For our best propaganda is to spread the entire truth.

As a certain foreign correspondent recently said in a radio discussion, "This is not a 'back to normalcy' war. People are not fighting to get back to 1938 or 1928 or 1918 or 1908. They are fighting for a brave *new* world, a world where ordinary, decent human beings have a greater freedom and greater opportunities, a world where people *believe* in ordinary, decent human beings and believe that they *must* have greater freedom and great opportunities, a world where people do things that have never been done before to secure this greater freedom and these greater opportunities. This is what this war means." Wallace Deuel, who said that, is no starry-eyed utopian, but a hardbitten journalist who saw things at close range in Germany, and who wrote "People under Hitler."

—Grano

In the same discussion, I recall that Louis Bromfield, whose name is known to every novel-reader, remarked, with regard to cartel monopolies in France just before France's downfall, that those chiefly interested and involved in monopoly were "interested entirely in their own profit and their own property and, with this in view, they ceased merely to be business men, for they also became politicians and they disrupted and corrupted the whole French government from the top."

It is against such monopoly, also, and such special privilege, that the actual fighting forces of the United Nations are arrayed in this war, for it is the great industrialists of Germany who are furnishing the sinews of war to Hitler. And inasmuch as this is a war in which the common people are on the march, it approaches the nature of a crusade. It is certainly the writer's function today to stress this greater significance. In fact, it is the duty of the writer to strengthen the people in a rational hope and faith.

The immediate problems connected with the prosecution of this war are weighty enough. The immediate concerns both of soldiers and civilians are their personal affairs, as their national duties affect them. The problems thrown in the lap of the world after the war will be tremendous. Confronted with these considerations, the average human mind and spirit is bogged-down and bewildered. But if, just as the pressure is beginning to be put upon us, we ourselves feel that way—what of those who have borne the burden and heat of the day, the brunt of the fighting up to this time?

There is a tough fibre in Americans. They not only do not wish to "be dieted with praise," they are immediately full of "Oh yeah?"s when you begin to paint any rosy picture for them. You are suspect before you start. Probably most of them would put it, in their hearts, "It's a hell of a

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tough job, and a dirty job. We've got to get on with it, we've got to go through with it. We may be let down at the end of it. If we *are* let down, by this and by that we are going to ask *why,* and we are going to find an answer!" That is all right too. That is what the war is about—to find an answer. This time, indeed, if the world doesn't find one, it is likely to be the end of civilization altogether.

The writer's magical and prophetic robes were long since stripped from him. He is no medicine-man! One of his problems in wartime, perhaps not the least onerous, is to maintain his *own* morale. After all, the reason he is a writer is because he possesses the ability to think out and put into words a good many things the average person doesn't bother his head about. He has "the old disease of thought." He is therefore more exposed than anyone else to violent revulsions against the errors and stupidities of mankind as a whole. He sees the world in a vast process of change, moving more quickly than in generations, but he also sees on every side evidence of persisting intolerance and prejudice. He believes in what the political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek recently called "a fresh high tide of liberation," and yet, because he has eyes and ears, he is fully aware of certain things in his own country that would seem to indicate the exact opposite.

His duty then is to speak the truth as clearly to his countrymen as, if he is an honest man, he speaks it to himself. Only in this way can he serve his country best. Not in mere contentiousness, not in malice, but with a deep and abiding concern for what our American notion of liberty really means, must he speak on any and all occasions that demand it. As never before is the obligation laid upon him not only to speak the truth but the *whole* truth. As never before does the future of the whole world tremble in the balance. Those that have imagination must use it to see as truly as possible *beyond* this war, into some lasting condition of equity for Mankind.

But who *are* writers? They are merely human beings very much like all the rest. They only possess a knack of expression of a certain kind. Nevertheless, upon them is laid a responsibility all their own. There was a day when they could, and did; luxuriate in rather irresponsible utterances. They cannot very well do that in the face of the present crisis. They too have enlisted for the duration. They have not enlisted to suppress or pervert their instinct for the truth. They *must* have enlisted to help frame a dynamic faith for the fighting men, a faith not in men as heroes—though the roll of

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CONTRIBUTORS AND CONTENTS

Eleanor Roosevelt, guest editor of this issue, is the author of "The Moral Basis for Democracy." Mrs. Roosevelt's editorial appears on *page 12;* she also contributes a negative answer in a brief debate, "Must We Hate to Fight?" on *page 13.*

George V. Denny Jr., associate guest editor of this issue, who since 1937 has been president of the Town Hall, Inc., in New York City, is the founder and director of America's Town Meeting of the Air which has been responsible for the spread of the movement for radio discussion of public affairs. Mr. Denny contributes an article on "Forums and Morale" on *page 7.*

Houston Peterson, also associate guest editor of this issue, is head of the department of social philosophy at Cooper Institute, and has for years been in charge of the public forum of that institution. He is also professor of philosophy at Rutgers College and the author of "The Lonely Debate," "The Melody of Chaos," and other books.

Virginius Dabney is editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and also a regular contributor to the *New York Times.* He has been a lecturer on the "New South" at Princeton University. Mr. Dabney contributes an article on "The Press and Morale" on *page 5.*

Norman Corwin originated and brought to wide recognition a hitherto untested form of art, the play written specifically for production over the air. Mr. Corwin is at present in England where he is instituting a series of broadcasts designed to make America better known to Great Britain. *Page 6.*

Hans Kohn shortly after his arrival in this country from Czechoslovakia in 1933, became a lecturer at the New School for Social Research. Since 1934 he has been professor of history at Smith College. He is the author of "Force or Reason," "Revolution and Dictatorships," and other books. Dr. Kohn reviews four books: "The Problems of Lasting Peace," by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson; "Conditions of Peace," by Edward Hallett Carr; "The Coming Age of World Control," by Nicholas Doman; and "Prelude to Victory," by James A. Reston, on *page 9.*

Lieut.-Col. Joseph I. Greene is a graduate of West Point, today connected with the fighting forces, and an editor of a leading service magazine, *The Infantry Journal.* Colonel Greene reviews "The Citizen Series" on *page 11.*

Carroll C. Pratt is professor of psychology at Rutgers College and the author of "The Logic of Modern Psychology" and of a recent pamphlet entitled "Psychology, the Third Dimension of War." In his unacademic moments Mr. Pratt is a musicologist. Mr. Pratt reviews "Morale," by G. Stanley Hall, on *page 14.*

Laura Polanyi Striker, born in Vienna and a graduate of the University of Budapest, is a historian and bibliographer and editor of the *Bibliographia Economica Universalis.* She contributes a bibliography of recent books on morale on *page 16.*

James B. Reston is a newspaper correspondent whose contributions from England appeared during the past year in the *New York Times.* He is now writing correspondence for that paper from Washington, and is the author of the just published "Prelude to Victory." Mr. Reston reviews "Proclaim Liberty," by Gilbert Seldes, on *page 8.*

Roger Shaw was foreign editor successively of *The Review of Reviews, The Literary Digest,* and *Current History.* He is also a radio commentator and the author of books on history and government. Mr. Shaw reviews "Strategy for Victory," by Hanson W. Baldwin, on *page 18.*

George N. Shuster is president of Hunter College in New York City. He was for many years an editor of the *Commonweal,* a leading Catholic magazine, and is the author of books both of fiction and non-fiction. Mr. Shuster reviews "Of the People," edited by Harry R. Warfel and Elizabeth W. Manwaring, on *page 19.*

Ruth Benedict has been professor of anthropology at Columbia University since 1923. She was formerly president of the American Ethnological Society, and is present editor of the *Journal of American Folklore.* Dr. Benedict reviews "The Family in a World at War," edited by Sidonia Matsner Gruenberg, on *page 23.*

Bonaro Overstreet is an educator, psychologist and lecturer. She reviews "Progress to Freedom," by Agnes E. Benedict, on *page 29.*

Fletcher Pratt is author, columnist, and authority on naval affairs. He reviews "Men on Bataan," By John Hershey, on *page 20.*

Charles J. Rolo, who was on the staff of the Princeton Listening Post, is the author of "'Radio Goes to War." He reviews "Propaganda by Short Wave," by Childs and Whitton, on *page 22.*

Ordway Tead is a publisher, economist, and author. Mr. Tead reviews "The New Belief in the Common Man," by Carl J. Friedrich, on *page 19.*

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Press and Morale

Only A Few Sour Notes Are Marring A Commendable Record

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

THE Axis realizes full well that the battle for the mind of America is as important to it as the battle for Middle Eastern oil. If Herr Doktor Goebbels can plant in the thinking of enough Americans sufficiently divisive counsels, if he can sow enough doubts and antagonisms among us, and can array labor against capital, white against colored, Irishmen against Jews, and Protestants against Catholics, he will have weakened our national fibre so fatally as to make successful allied prosecution of the war almost hopeless.

No agency can do as much to thwart the Axis in the pursuit of this objective as our press. It holds daily communion with the mind of America, and is in a position to influence national attitudes more importantly than the radio, the motion pictures or any other medium. Its immense responsibility, therefore, is obvious. As Archibald MacLeish said in a recent address, "the real battlefield of this war is the field of American opinion." To put it another way, the question is whether our morale can be maintained at a high pitch, irrespective of the dangers and discouragements which lie ahead, and which are sure to tax our resolution and our determination. The answer to that question must rest in considerable measure with the newspapers.

The performance of the press in this unprecedented crisis has been happy in some respects and unhappy in others. The great majority of newspaper publishers and editors are patriotic, and they are presenting news and comment concerning the war according to their lights. But a small minority of newspaper owners and executives are aiding the Axis, either consciously or unconsciously, and are undermining morale and promoting divisionism over wide areas of this country.

Most conspicuous among these divisive forces are the proprietors of the three newspapers which comprise the New York-Chicago-Washington Axis, and their ideological soul mate, the Sage of San Simeon. With immense circulations at their disposal, these four individuals keep millions of Americans befogged by doubt, harassed by questionings, and suspicious of the White House and America's allies. Captain Joseph Medill Patterson's New York *Daily News* tells its vast tabloid audience that there may not be any congressional elections this Fall, assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, and says that we, too, are "grabbing territory and setting up protectorates" whenever we feel so inclined. Colonel Robert R. McCormick's Chicago *Tribune,* which blushingly confesses that it is "The World's Greatest Newspaper," takes several below-the-belt swings at the Roosevelt Administration, implying that it is made up of communists or halfwits or both, and hinting strongly that it is to blame for Pearl Harbor. Mrs. Eleanor Medill Patterson, the third member of this family triumvirate, echoes the sentiments of her two kinsmen in her Washington *Times-Herald,* while adding new embellishments of her own. William Randolph Hearst, the fourth horseman who rides through these apocalyptic visions, tells the readers of his chain in words which follow the Axis line, that the British are swindlers, that the Russians are worse, and that America, as usual, is being played for a sucker by her supposed friends and comrades in arms.

Father Coughlin, William Dudley Pelley, and the other fascist-minded "voices of defeat" were, and are, sufficiently pernicious, but it is doubtful if all the assorted crackpots and professional anti-Semites from coast to coast wield more than a fraction of the influence that is commanded by the foregoing quartet of daily newspaper owners. The latter never weary of protesting their patriotism, but by carping constantly at our war effort, and delivering utterly irresponsible attacks on the administration and its foreign policy, they succeed in rendering aid to Hitler and Hirohito which those worthies must consider beyond price. The fact that none of the four publishers is even suspected of being on the Axis payroll makes their mulishness all the more invaluable to the Nazis and the Japs. If Goebbels himself was writing their editorials and "news," much of this material could hardly be suited more perfectly to Nazi designs.

Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher, *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

In this connection, a special citation should go to the New York newspaper, *PM,* for its indefatigable and relentless crusade to unveil the parallel between the Axis line and that followed by some of the foregoing publications. Whatever one's opinion of *PM's* other attitudes—and that opinion is apt to be either strongly pro or strongly con—it deserves an accolade for this.

In justice to the American press, it should be said that the bulk of that press has been fair in its comment upon the war and this country's role as a belligerent. Its criticisms of the war effort have been mainly constructive in character and designed to strengthen, rather than to tear down. Since most of these dailies fought Mr. Roosevelt for re-election in 1940, the phenomenon is particularly significant and gratifying.

On the domestic front in recent months, the papers have a less consistent record of administration support. This has been especially noteworthy in the field of economic and industrial conflict, particularly where the part of labor in the war effort has been involved. There has been a tendency to overemphasize the role of strikes in slowing down war production, and to soft pedal the greed of certain industrialists. Anybody who remembers last winter's report of the Truman congressional committee must know that both labor and capital are guilty of stalling production, and that to overemphasize either to the neglect of the other is to promote disunity and undermine national morale. Actually, the excessive stress given in certain quarters to the undoubted misdeeds of some unions was disruptive of unity and, in fact, was camouflage for an effort to smash all organized labor.

The drumfire against the unions reached its apogee in the early Spring, apropos of the effort to amend the so-called "40-hour week." This drive centered in certain newspapers, and the impression was created, with their active assistance, that the law forbade workers in war industries to labor more than 40 hours in any week. The fact is, of course, that the issue was primarily one of overtime pay, rather than of limitation upon hours of work, and that in most of the important war plants, the men were working well beyond 40 hours. Since they were drawing time and one half for hours in

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excess of 40, this ran up the cost of manufacture. There were other legitimate reasons for arguing that the law gave rise to certain complications, and it may have been something of a handicap to production. But the 40-hour angle was magnified out of all proportion to its importance, while at the same time the impression was created that a great wave of strikes was crippling our war effort. One newspaper published a full page advertisement which put practically all the blame for the lag in output on strikes and the 40-hour week, and introduced what seemed a brand new note, by including in large type the names of various mothers whose sons were in the armed forces. The idea here was that the unions were responsible for depriving these young men of adequate arms and equipment. Actually, of course, strikes were an extremely minor factor in the industrial picture at the time, as was the 40-hour week, but this lachrymose and highly emotional advertisement made the blood of many a patriot boil against the unions. The testimony before a congressional committee from Chairman Donald Nelson of the War Production Board, Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson and Rear-Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, . that no changes were desirable in the law providing time and a half for work beyond 40 hours, was blandly ignored by the aggressive minority of hatchet-wielding industrialists and their congressional and journalistic allies. National morale was undermined by this exhibition. For one thing, the concentration of editorial salvos against organized labor brought a counterbarrage from the labor press, thereby aggravating wounds which were already open, and dividing the country into hostile camps.

It need hardly be said that certain unions have given plenty of cause for public distrust and antipathy, with their racketeering, selfishness, and irresponsibility. Yet it might have been difficult for the average American to learn from his newspaper in May that there had not been a single authorized strike since Pearl Harbor. The emphasis was placed so frequently on the small number of wildcat strikes that the far more significant discipline and loyalty of the vast majority of union workers was overlooked. In fact, a balanced view of the industrial picture this Spring would have accorded patriotic impulses and patriotic achievement to both employers and employees, a condition described by Donald Nelson when he said that anybody who contended that "organized labor was impeding the war effort or that Big Business was falling down" was "dead

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Radio and Morale

We Are Still Behind the Enemy in Recognizing Radio's Power

NORMAN CORWIN

HALF way through the third year of the War of Survival, and seven months after Pearl Harbor, there are still those who think morale is a mysterious and complex matter. At this late stage in the proceedings, with more than six million already dead in battle, there is still some question about the function of radio as propaganda, and considerable concern about what should be told the people. This very symposium is proof of that concern.

The tragedy of the situation can be measured only against the contrasting clarity of the enemy on all these points. Nobody knows better than they, alas, how vast the power of radio—a power far exceeding that of the press. The painful truth is that neither our government nor the industry of radio itself seems fully awake to the potentialities. One can only hope that the complete awakening will not be as late, or as rude, as it has been elsewhere.

The duty and responsibility of American radio is obvious and simple and urgent: to explain to the people the nature of fascism and why we are fighting it; to explain what we stand to lose by defeat and gain by victory; to face squarely the issues of this war instead of ducking them; to hammer away at, to reiterate, to follow through with the truth no matter how many appeasers and editors and weary intellectuals resent and resist the truth; to inform the people instead of selling, coaxing, scaring, upbraiding, or exhorting them.

I believe that if people are brought to understand the origins of fascism, its accomplishments and goals, they will be activated by something more affirmative than Hate: by a rational as well as emotional abhorrence of fascism, together with the conviction that they are fighting for a just cause and for a future of limitless good possibilities.

Morale may well be defined a dozen different ways in these pages. Let me submit still another definition: morale is conviction. The shortest road to the conviction of a people at war is political indoctrination: belief in the right of the fight. We have seen, both in our strongest enemy and our strongest ally, the effect upon fighting morale of such political homework. The German people and the Nazi army were well indoctrinated—too well; the Russian army has long had political commissars in its ranks. Our own army came only recently to accept the principle of teaching soldiers *why* they are fighting as well as how to fight, that they might fight better. It seems to me that radio should at least accept the same principle of morale as our army.

It is debatable whether programs devoted to the exploits of fighters, the immortality of heroic dead, or the documentation in dramatic form of resources, can greatly advance morale. Stirring exploits are all too familiar—they have been on the screen and in comic strips and in mass fiction in times of peace as well as war, and in quantity. Accounts of death must be careful not to arouse fear and apprehension in anxious relatives of fighting men. Documentation is for those who have the patience and the wit to listen to a feature article about Economy. These are some of the considerations which disturb the men of radio. They ask themselves whether the Variety Show can help much; whether the spot announcement to Remember Pearl Harbor and Buy a War Bond is worth the breath it takes; whether the introduction of drafted lovers and war talk into soap operas is going to deepen anybody's conviction that this is a serious and urgent and desperate war, fought as none before, and for stakes affecting every last listener.

Under the pressures exerted by a knowing government and the facts of Axis conquest, American industry has more or less abandoned business-as-usual for the duration. So has American labor. Not so the press, however. Not so the practitioners of arts and letters; the critics; the educators. The movies have been slow to adjust. The program-makers of radio, though far quicker on the draw than the executive producers of Hollywood, still seek a unified strategy for indoctrination. The behavior of much of the press is of course scandalous. The graphic arts have not in any organized way been given the opportunity to fight with the

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means at their disposal. Educators have done nothing concrete to assist the government in the tremendous work of teaching the American people what there is to know about our enemies, our allies, the history of the world since Versailles . . . nothing to undo what I consider the professional and long-range lying by the Hearsts, the Lindberghs, and others. (France had the strongest army in the world; the Maginot was impregnable; Germany was so poor it couldn't run a war for more than six months; the Russians had no air force, were lousy fighters, etc, etc.)

As for the critics, their low estate can be typified by the recent utterances of one of their number—Lewis Mumford. Speaking on "The Salvation of The Arts" before the American Academy of Arts and Letters, Mr. Mumford contributed the thought that although the fascist enemy was ugly and despicable, nevertheless his act of burning books was not altogether without virtue. There was too much being published all the time, he complained. Access to the printed page was too easy; writers should spend more time in the great silences, searching their souls and writing to fellow soul-searchers. They should be quiet, unseen; they should contemplate Emily Dickinson and hang their heads. It was a quasi-fascist speech, reminiscent of the irascibility of the dying D. H. Lawrence with anything suggesting the common people. It implied that the salvation of letters lay in an intellectual aristocracy.

This kind of piddling is an indoor sport, a game, an effete occupation for lesser times. Any speech, picture, program, or public expression which proposes to take up the war and does not in some way clarify, construct, or advance the fight against fascism is a waste of time at a period in our lives when any waste is criminal.

Radio, whose greatest single commodity is time, can least afford to waste any. Nor can any agency of the government afford to waste any. Nor can any agency of the government afford to be slow or haphazard in its liaison with radio. There is an urgent necessity to crystallize a strategy of propaganda, and to furnish suggestions and directives to an industry which, for the most part, is convinced of the profound importance of bringing the truth to the people.

For some weeks I directed the first series of programs ever undertaken jointly by the networks ("This Is War.") The most important lesson learned by its producers was that the people want the truth and want it badly; that when they get it they feel better and they want to fight better.

If that is not the essence of morale, I would like to know what is.

Forums and Morale

Fuel for Democracy's Power Plants in the Town-Meeting Idea

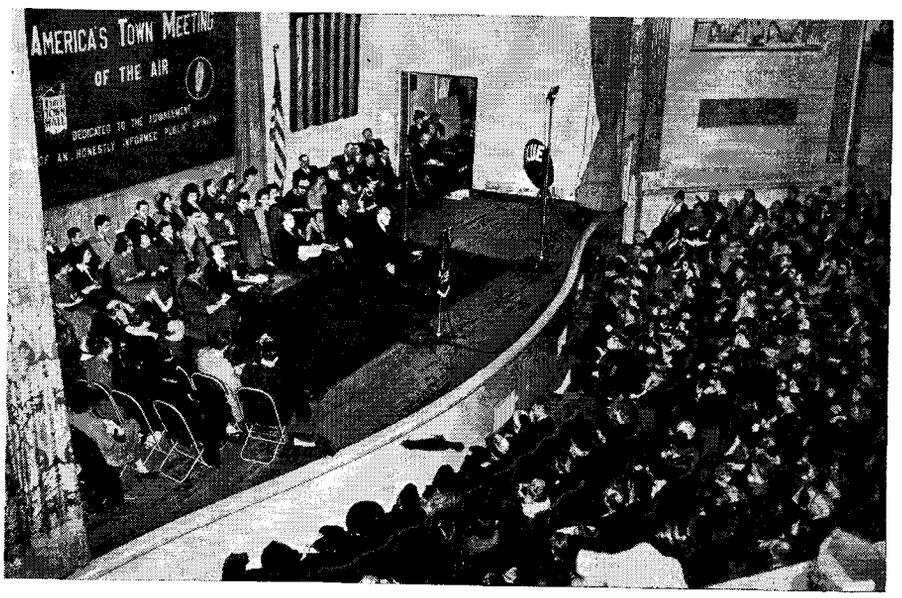
GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

"DIVIDE and conquer" is a phrase that has become so familiar it has almost lost its sinister significance for many of us. But the "divide and conquer" technique is still the most successful weapon the dictators have launched upon the civilized world. Why? Because we have not learned how to cope with it. In our insistence upon our democratic rights of freedom of speech and of the press we have refused to recognize the threat to those very freedoms in their unrestricted use. But the lesson of history is plain. Hitler rose to power in Germany through the exploitation of the freedoms of the Weimar Republic. Mussolini took advantage of post-war democracy in Italy to seize power there. Here in our own country we have heard a great deal about freedom and much emphasis has been placed upon the constitutional right of every individual, citizen and alien alike, to say his say without regard to the truth of his utterances or to their possible consequences. And with what result?

Now I would be the last person in the world to advocate the suppression of free speech, but I do think we should recognize its potential dangers and be ever on the alert to prevent its abuse, wittingly or unwittingly. "Mental confusion, indecisiveness, panic," Hitler is quoted by Rauschning as saying, "these are our weapons." But there is one typically American method that can combat these weapons. It is the modern forum or town meeting, where men of good will reason together to dispel confusion with understanding, to wipe out indecisiveness with a recognition of our common unity of purpose, and to replace panic with the processes of orderly discussion. It is impossible in the forum to propagandize without regard to the truth, because there is always present a well-informed advocate of the other point of view to check on misrepresentations of fact. In the forum or town hall movement we have ready to our hands a weapon superior to the Nazi fashioned instrument of psychological warfare because it is forged in the fire of honest discussion and hammered out on the anvil of truth.

Hitler's aim is to keep us in a state of perpetual confusion, and his transmission belt is our vaunted democratic right of free speech. It must be a part of our war effort to recognize that freedom is a dangerous instrument, that it can destroy as readily as it can create. The free flowing floods of our great rivers wrought havoc and destruction until they were brought under control. But by the construction of dams and reservoirs we have created enormous power plants for our factories and transportation systems and have immeasurably improved our general welfare.

In similar fashion, freedom of speech may be used to incite to riot and revolution. But it may be used also as a means of enabling men to reason together about their differences and thus to solve their common problems. By establishing meeting places (forums and town halls) at various points throughout America we may inter-



"Town Meeting of the Air" in action. The speaker is Mr. Denny.

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mingle and turn into constructive channels many streams of ideas which, as they move through the turbines of orderly discussion, will generate the power of informed public opinion on which we must rely for the solution of our problems.

Individual differences in a democracy should be a source of strength rather than of weakness, as a many-ply thread is stronger than a single strand. But there must be a willingness to listen to all sides. Today, in spite of our freedom of speech, press, and radio, we still talk largely with those who have congenial views; we read those newspapers which cater to "our viewpoint," and we listen to those speakers who say the things we like to hear. Such a situation breeds bitterness and hatred. It leads inevitably to disunity and internal strife on the basis of selfish interests. It betrays the mass meeting mentality and, merely bolstering our own comfortable assurance of infallibility, makes no contribution to the solution of our problems. In the forum or town meeting, on the other hand, representatives of conflicting points of view meet together in an atmosphere of integrity of purpose and mutual respect, with the discovery of the truth as the only objective. It is the application in the world of human relations of the "scientific method" which alone has made it possible for man to achieve the miracles of the Machine Age.

Science as we know it was impossible until man determined to use his rational faculties *honestly* as he observed and studied the operations of the physical world. Only when the scientist freed himself from the shackles of ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and witchcraft as regards natural phenomena was it possible to build up a body of knowledge which is today accepted as "natural law." And how was this body of knowledge accumulated? Not by using the mind to confirm our prejudices, not by disregarding those laws of physics or chemistry which were distasteful to us, not by shutting our eyes to the advances made by fellow scientists. This body of knowledge upon which modern civilization rests is based upon the observations of men and women who had learned to approach the unknown in a spirit of deep humility, with complete honesty and integrity of purpose, determined only to find the truth. Similarly, we cannot hope to cope successfully with our problems in the world of human relations until we have freed our minds from the shackles of ignorance, prejudice, fear, and chauvinism which still beset us.

Whether we like it or not, we must —each one of us—consider our prob-

(*Continued on page* 25)

The American Offensive

PROCLAIM LIBERTY. By Gilbert Seldes. New York: The Greystone Press. 1942. 202 *pp.* $2.

Reviewed by JAMES B. RESTON

THE politicians and military experts may rightly be concerned with Second Fronts, or, like Harry Hopkins, with Third Fronts and Fourth Fronts. But there is still a lot of work to be done on the First Front, which is here at home in the minds and hearts of our own people.

The strength to win the war and the will to win it lie on this front. There is no question about that. But there are still deep divisions about why we got into the war and how we are to win it and for what purpose, and it is to these questions that Gilbert Seldes directs his attention in a thoughtful, well-written, and wise little book called "Proclaim Liberty."

For the people who are planning our second, third, and fourth fronts, for the people who are still trying to fit the war into their normal lives with as little inconvenience as possible, and for the people who are haranguing each other from the extreme right and left, Mr. Seldes has this suggestion: read the history of your own country, try again to understand the American Dream, and you will understand why we are fighting, how we are to win, and where we are going.

As Mr. Seldes sees it, the war is basically another round in the old battle between democracy and feudalism, between the people who recognize the necessity and importance of constant change and progress, and those who want to create a fixed, unchangeable form of society. "Democracy destroyed feudalism," he says, "and feudalism, returning in a new form as fascism, must destroy democracy or go down in the attempt. The New Order and the New World cannot exist side by side because they are both expanding forces." That is basically why we are fighting.

—*Portrait by e. e. cummings.*
Gilbert Seldes

Mr. Seldes has no illusions that ideas alone will win the war, but he points out that whenever the people of the United States and the Government of the United States have proclaimed liberty to the people of the world, the world has listened and believed. Therefore, he urges us to harness the revolutionary power of America in conducting the war in Europe, to appeal to the *people* of Europe over the heads of their governments, as Wilson did in 1917 and 1918.

In war, as in chess, Mr. Seldes observes, the winner is the one who can break out of the strategy imposed by his opponent. So far we have been following along behind Hitler, improvising our copies of his ideas, and getting them into action just about the time he brings out something new. We do not have to fight Hitler in his way; we must fight him in our own way and that way is suggested by our own history.

"The American Offensive," Mr. Seldes states, must be not only an offensive of military weapons but an offensive of ideas and the blueprint of that offensive plan lies in the Declaration of Independence. If we will stop listening to the Firecracker Orators this Fourth of July and really read and reread the Declaration of Independence we shall, Mr. Seldes proclaims, not only get a few ideas as to how to win the war but understand that the changes of the future need be nothing more than part of the pattern of change which the Declaration foresaw and approved.

This is a sincere, useful fundamental book. I like it because it discusses basic American principles. I like it because Mr. Seldes has succeeded to a remarkable degree in relating our present to our past and to the future we can attain if we will only open our eyes.

College students, by working while studying, contributed importantly to the efforts of this nation in its first six months of war, E. E. Crabb, president of Investors Syndicate, declared recently in releasing latest tabulations of a national college survey made by his organization. Students received more paid employment in the academic year now ending than in the preceding period, according to Mr. Crabb. Such jobs were voluntary. They were not an integral part of studies or cooperative courses.

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War Aims and Peace Patterns

THE PROBLEMS OF LASTING PEACE. By Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company. 1942. 295 *pp.* $2.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE. By Edward Hallett Carr. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1942. 282 *pp.* $2.50.

THE COMING AGE OF WORLD CONTROL. By Nicholas Doman. New York: Harper & Bros. 1942. 301 *pp.* $3.

PRELUDE TO VICTORY. By James B. Reston. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. 235 *pp.* $2.

Reviewed by HANS KOHN

WAR and peace are inextricably intertwined; the course and the results of the war will determine the peace. The war which we fight, is an unprecedented war of global character, not because we wish it, or even because Hitler wished it, but because of the age of modern technology and of world-wide interdependence in which this generation lives, the first generation so to live. The tremendous successes achieved by Hitler and the Japanese are due to the fact that they viewed the coming war as an inevitable conflict of a world-wide and decisive character, while their adversaries refused to face the new situation and clung to opinions and prejudices no longer valid. Hitler's and Japan's plans, though often openly avowed, appeared fantastic to those who termed their faithfulness to outdated thought-processes "realism." The most improbable events of cataclysmic consequences happened, and could happen, because the "realists" thought them impossible. Only if we understand the nature of this war shall we be able to make that all-out effort, that transformation of our life beyond our present imagination, which alone can win the war against determined enemies who are so much ahead of us in military preparations, in military traditions, and in the iron will to win the war at any cost. They know that this war cannot be measured by any yardstick of the past, even of the recent past, that everything is at stake everywhere, and that the fate of mankind, not only the coming peace, will be determined by the outcome of this war.

To win it, we need men and arms, but more than arms and men, understanding and morale will determine the outcome of the war and thus the fate of mankind. For this war is, like most great wars, not only catastrophe and judgment; it is also opportunity and promise. There is no reason for a feeling of despondency and depression; there is some justification for a feeling of high courage and elation; this generation is living through the greatest period of history; it is given the privilege of determining the future of many generations to follow; it may be given, if it has vision and courage enough, the opportunity of creating, out of an unprecedented war of global nature, an unprecedented peace of world-wide character. Winning the war and building the peace will be a task of immense difficulties and hardship. The future ahead of us, the outcome of the war are entirely uncertain. They depend upon us. There is no room for optimism, there is no room for pessimism. There is only room for determination. Without vision and courage we shall perish; our greatest enemy is within us: inertia, discouragement, cynicism.

The prospects of victory and peace are better today than they seemed two years ago. We have made some progress. We can win this war only if we disenthrall ourselves from our thinking-as-usual, only with a global vision, which must become so strong now that even after victory we shall not be longing for the easy, but fallacious path back to a non-existent normalcy, that we do not again fall prey to the forces of inertia and reaction, fatigue and vested interests, which overwhelmed us after the first war. Great changes are rapidly going on in this war, an entirely new understanding is growing up in Great Britain and in the Soviet Union, in China and in the United States, in Mexico and Australia; a common struggle opens them all up; in the fortunes of this global war all faces and all continents get militarily and economically so closely intertwined that disentanglement afterwards will be most difficult. And we are only at the beginning. Necessity forces us today—necessity will force us tomorrow even more—to do, what would have appeared Utopian a short time ago. In the new situation of a struggle for survival universal idealism and national self-interest will coincide.

Herbert Hoover

The understanding for this new situation begins to grow. Recent addresses by Mr. Wendell Willkie, by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, and Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles belong to the hopeful signs of the time. The United Nations are accepted more and more as a reality, a reality not only indispensable for our, and for their, survival in this war, but also for the building of a lasting peace. Of course, all that is very, very new, it has come to us and the other united nations only in the last months or even weeks. It will take time to mature; but necessity will force ever more rapid changes in our attitudes. At present it is not astonishing that some of the well-meaning discussions of the problems of lasting peace are lacking in that courage and vision which alone can adequately cope with the problems. Former President Hoover and former Ambassador Gibson, in a book just issued, approach the problem with great caution. They start from right fundamentals, namely that a durable peace must be founded on total victory without compromise, must take account realistically of the underlying dynamic forces that make for war and peace, must provide for some machinery for international coöperation and that the American people must think of peace in a far larger frame than ever before. But from these right fundamentals the two authors do not proceed far enough, in fact they end in vagueness and half measures. While in the first part of the book they outline past experiences of war and peace —it is to be welcomed that the economic motive is regarded only as one of seven main forces determining history and that psychological factors are given the by far larger scope—in a historical discussion, too sketchy to be of any real help, they turn in the second part towards the future. There the book contains wise remarks, but will on the whole dismiss the reader without any constructive guidance.

Not much more adequate though written in an excellent and smooth style, is a book by an Englishman, Professor Carr, who seems much less conscious of the global character of the war or of its fundamental issues than the two distinguished American authors. In reading the book one has a feeling similar to that in reading Sir Nevile Henderson's "Failure of a Mission." Sir Nevile and Professor Carr were leading "appeasers," who,

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disappointed by the National Socialists, are of course now for war and British victory. But in reading Sir Nevile's book one had the same melancholy feeling—as now in reading Professor Carr's book—that even after his mission failed he did not understand why it failed and could not but fail. Both books show no understanding of the nature and ideas of National Socialism. Mr. Carr describes it sometimes in words of the "wave of the future" school, as a "revolution" against the liberal democracy, national self-determination, and laissez-faire capitalism of the nineteenth century. It is as if Professor Carr had not read the National Socialist literature or refused to take it seriously. The tremendous character of this war and of the issues at stake are not clearly seen; therefore everything that is said about the war and the peace falls somewhat flat, though there are very many intelligent and well-said remarks.

Although Professor Carr speaks of moral values and stresses them, he really deals mostly with economic concerns. His treatment of Germany is probably the most unsatisfactory single chapter of the book; he fights against strawmen who regard Germany as eternally and irremediably wicked but he refuses to take note of the ideas and forces which have molded the German character, not as an irremediable and eternal factor, but as a product of history with which we have to count. He believes in big states and great powers and dislikes small countries, especially those in the German *Lebensraum*. Yet the peace of Europe was threatened much more by big states than by small states like Czechoslovakia or the Netherlands. He believes hopefully and rightly that the English or the German people may be changed as a result of this war, he thinks it apparently impossible that the smaller Central European peoples might be changed, too. He thinks somewhat contemptuously that they will always go on quarrelling among themselves.

The book suffers from the insufficiency of its fundamental approach; it is written before Pearl Harbor, but even this is no excuse for the complete disregard of the global character of the war. Professor Carr has all his attentions centered on Europe, or rather on Germany. Japan, the Far East, India are entirely outside the ken of the book and of the coming peace. That the aggressions against China and in Spain, in Ethiopia and against Czechoslovakia, were manifestations of one and the same pattern of conquest, that they formed part of *one* war and must be solved in *one* peace, is one of the fundamental facts of the present situation. The conditions of peace are only to be found in a global vision, which is missing in this book; but certain important elements are clearly recognized here, like the fact that the "coöperation between the Western peoples and Soviet Russia in the war should help to resolve the antithesis, incidental rather than fundamental, between the secular ideals of Christianity and those of Communism," or the good statement that it was only the war that has "provided for the English-speaking world a moral purpose which has revived the national will, increased the sense of mutual obligation, bred a salutary realization of the gravity of the crisis, and at the same time created the hope and the opportunity of a new ordering of human affairs." In the present book the whole gravity of the crisis and the width of the opportunity of a new world order are not yet realized, but a beginning is made which is most hopeful compared with the attitude of leading British circles only a few years ago. In fact, the last six pages of the book contain a program that if lifted out of its European limitation to an international framework corresponding to the reality of the interdependence on a shrinking earth, would offer a very good guidance.

The new stage of world-development is much more clearly envisaged, than in the two other books, in Dr. Doman's excellent study on the transition to an organized world society. "The twentieth century is a new era because of its perils, crises, potentialities, and hopes. This new era necessitates an approach different from those that have hitherto been practised." It is a courageous, far-sighted, thoughtful, and highly intelligent book, that will be welcome and useful to every reader, even if he may not agree with every detail. Though the author envisages the need of a universal world order from the beginning, he suddenly, without deeper justification, adds the problem of the Orient in the final pages as if it would be a separate problem, not interwoven inextricably into the texture of this global war, which has only one battlefield, the whole earth, and will know only one solution, a world order.

James B. Reston

The nature of this world order, whether it will be the Spenglerian vision of military Caesars and their bands of "beast of prey" youth, roaming an earth on which civilization is dead and primitive barbarism holds sway—or whether it will be the realization of the hopes of all great religions for the dignity of man and a peaceful order, will depend upon the outcome of this war. If a democratic world order will emerge, it will not mean uniformity. Dr. Doman is right in reminding us that "difference in traditions, customs, and language is no bar to a peaceful co-habitation. Collective security does not require the adoption of uniform institutions by peoples that are deemed to be peacefully inclined. It is not institutions so much as mental attitudes that give coherence to society. It is a costly illusion to think in terms of institutions and constitutions, instead of in terms of objectives and attitudes." This excellent statement is also true of democracy, which is an objective and an attitude.

What is called democracy—the faith in the dignity of every man and in the equality of all men—is the result of humanity's labors for more than two thousand years. Never has it faced a greater peril than at present; perhaps because it approaches some new steep summit on its march. It is given no rest. This generation, which has almost forgotten that democracy is labor, danger, ascent, has been forced to go on and finds itself suddenly at the brink of a yawning abyss as no generation before. If it does not fall, it has the chance to climb higher than any generation before and to reach a new peak. Defeat means the abyss; victory may mean the peak. We are still very far from it, not because we have not enough men and arms but because we still think as usual. A young American journalist, Mr. Reston, has written a brief and incisive book out of a very real fear "that we shall lose the war unless we clear out from our mind certain fundamental illusions which are minimizing our war effort." There are in the book some points in which the emphasis seems misplaced but on the whole it says the right things. It says the things which are the most necessary to be said now, right now,—because soon it may be too late—and it says them with an insistence which is the result of the clear recognition of the danger that we may lose the war, not because we cannot win it, but be-

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Vitamins for Civilian Morale

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOSEPH I. GREENE

I MAY as well say at the beginning in outright fashion that I believe the conception of this series, "What the Citizen Should Know of Our Armed Forces," is far-seeing and sound, and their development admirable from the viewpoint of aid to general morale and the war effort. Their publisher realized early (he was planning the first three books of the series by the Spring of 1940) how little the nation knew of its armed forces. He saw that for long the minds of Americans had not been concerned with matters of warfare, the very matters that must in the end guarantee the integrity of American minds. He refused to look upon the books he was planning as mere jobs of writing, and obtained as their authors the best informed writers he could find. He refused also to permit haste and its accompanying inaccuracy in the writing and editorial processing of the books. And he insisted upon clear objective exposition without a trace of the amateur Sunday-supplement hoorah that so many publishers sought when first they issued military titles.

This editorial policy resulted in books that to my mind have direct value to the armed services themselves as well as to the "citizen." For example, the soldier of any grade or rank who wants to refresh his mind on the Navy cannot find a more readably compact description of his sister service than Hanson Baldwin's "What the Citizen Should Know about the Navy." He can turn likewise to Colonel Hartney and Captain Craige for equally informative books upon the "Air Forces" and "The Marines." And, indeed, since there is no equivalent officially written group of books, he can find all of the series similarly useful, including Fletcher Pratt's more general and remarkably inclusive "What the Citizen Should Know about Modern War."

In some of the ten different fields now covered by the series there are books outside the series that can stand on the same shelf with the series itself. But the "Citizen" books are most of them the best available general books on their subjects; and Hickman Powell's book on "The Coast Guard," Colonel Paul W. Thompson's on "The Army Engineers," and Carl D. Lane's on "The Merchant Marine" are the only fresh treatments of these three agencies for war.

Thus I would leave no question as to my belief in the successful attainment of the publisher's original plan and purpose—to do something about the military ignorance of American citizens in general, and to do it well. The series, of course, is not complete; but other books are on the way and it will be in the end.

The Citizen Series

1942. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. $2.50 each.

What the Citizen Should Know About the Army
By Lt. Harvey S. Ford

What the Citizen Should Know About the Navy
By Hanson W. Baldwin

What the Citizen Should Know About the Coast Guard
By Hickman Powell

What the Citizen Should Know About Our Arms and Weapons
By Major James E. Hicks

What the Citizen Should Know About the Marines
By Captain John H. Craige

What the Citizen Should Know About the Merchant Marine
By Carl D. Lane

What the Citizen Should Know About the Air Forces
By Lt. Col. Harold E. Hartney

What the Citizen Should Know About the Army Engineers
By Lt. Col. Paul W. Thompson

What the Citizen Should Know About Modern War
By Fletcher Pratt

What the Citizen Should Know About Civilian Defense
By Walter D. Binger and Hilton H. Railey

Now with that much sincere praise for the "Citizen Series" plainly put down, I am going to consider aspects of these books and others like them in their relationship to this tight, hard, long war we have begun but are still so far with our Allies from winning. There will be some hindsight in what I say, some possibly jolting suggestions on publishing in general, and much debatable thought. Now that ten of the excellent "Citizen Series" can be examined together, it is possible thus to assess them.

Most of these books, and most of the similar books issued by other publishers which are good enough to compare with these books, are objective descriptions of our agencies for war. They look from the outside in. They apply in reverse the old peacetime soldier phrase "on the outside," used of anything not in or of the Army. The whole purpose of the series was, of course, to enable the "citizen" to see clearly from his own "normal" unmilitary daily sphere into those of the armed services. The citizen habitually thought of himself, when most of these books were written, as being "on the outside." And with one exception, "What the Citizen Should Know about Civilian Defense," by Walter D. Binger and Hilton H. Railey, the books have been directed toward this attitude of mind. But now, at a time when the totality of this war is at the point of including every male and female citizen of every age in its vast effort whether he realizes it or not, we can see how it would have improved these books to put into them all a more direct and less objective message. In writing of the Army, the Navy, and all the rest, it could well have been said even two years ago, "This is *your* Army (Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, etc.). If war does involve us it will closely affect your life. You or your sons and even your wife and your daughters, will become part of one of these agencies of war, or will be so close to them one way or another that you will only be able to think of them as *yours*. They have, indeed, always been *yours* right on through these twenty years of peace while you seldom or never gave thought to them. But now through this book you can find what has been happening to your armed strength, and what the men you have permitted to become its guardians have been doing to conserve it and develop it for you." In short, these books as a whole do not foster the general feeling of ownership and partnership in the services they describe as much as they might. (The soldier is unquestionably a citizen, whether his Army service has been long or short. And the citizen is more and more the soldier.)

In order to put more of this feeling into the series, it would not have been necessary to preach. It could have been done with a touch and a phrase in occasional passages and perhaps at the length of a paragraph or two in the forewords.

And doing this would have naturally led to the injection of somewhat more fire in other appropriate places. Not mere Fourth-of-July fustian but simply words and phrases of honest emotion to express the American belief

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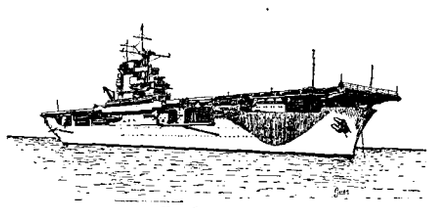

—*From "What the Citizen Should Know about the Navy."*

Aircraft Carrier "Wasp."

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The Saturday Review
of Literature
EDITORIAL BOARD
Henry Seidel Canby Amy Loveman
Harrison Smith
Norman Cousins
Executive Editor
William Rose Benét
Contributing Editor
Harrison Smith
Publisher
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WHAT IS MORALE?

IN this issue of *The Saturday Review* we are presenting a series of articles which cover fairly well the field of creating morale among the people of the United States.

Mr. Cousins has written an article which is apparently completely in opposition to my own and yet I think basically we look at things only from a little different angle. He is thinking primarily of what must happen to us now if we are to win the war, and I still contend that even if he is right as to what must happen to us now, or at some given point during our participation in the winning of the war, that still deep down within us we must keep alive something which will make it possible for us to build a world free of hate in the future.

Taking it all in all, what do we have as a concept of morale after reading all these articles? I find myself thinking that the most important thing which gives us morale, is character. Morale is not built either by the radio or the newspapers or any of the other methods that are all important for giving us information and which help us to know what we must do in a time like this. The character which makes us weigh the information available and do our jobs, has been built in the homes and the schools of the country. It has come down to us from our ancestors, has grown within us as we learned the history of our country, and the story of the pioneers and all they endured to give us freedom.

I question greatly whether morale can be built during a war. It has to be in the character of the nation and then it can be awakened and stirred to meet the needs of the hour. Because of this, I want to say just a word about Mr. Dabney's article which deals with the Negro press.

I am entirely in agreement with him that there are times when the Negro press is unwise, but he agrees that it reflects the attitude of the Negro people. He can concede that this may be a justifiable attitude but feels it is a mistake for any one at the present time to encourage that attitude. I think he is entirely right as far as the colored people are concerned, but he must remember that if morale was built for most of the people in this nation in the homes and in the schools, it is not very astounding to find it a little dulled in the Negro race.

I think perhaps the greatest safeguard, even greater than moderation on the part of the Negro press or on the part of the leaders of the colored people, will be the evident intention of the white people as a whole to carry out the promises made in Mr. Welles's speech. The burden of action should not fall on our colored citizens for that is probably dangerous, but I think we must give constantly increasing proof that we white people mean what we say. The Negro must be able to count on a rising economic status because he will have fair play and equal opportunity in industry, in the professions, in fact in any occupation in which he engages. If the Negro is sure that his cause is marching on, I think we can count on an attitude of moderation from him, but if no one keeps his cause moving perhaps it will seem to him that only the spectacular and the dangerous can eliminate the things which have made him apathetic in this war.

This is no plea for social equality, for that is a personal thing, but this is a plea for the kind of moving forward at home which will give reality to the promises our leaders have made to all the races of the world. We must really mean what we have said in our Atlantic Charter, in our speeches, and in our own Bill of Rights.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Words for All Proud People

By Joseph Joel Keith

TAKE everything else from the proud people—
you can never take pride!

Take the fruit of their labor: stolen and hoarded,
like a rotten apple, it shall ruin it all before winter has gone.

Leave only one thing, the inevitable seed;
and let it be blown over hungry ground,
it will find its way, it will flourish and rise,
in the rocky pasture, on the precipice, held
by a purpose: a will to cling, and to struggle
out of the darkness, and into the sunlight.

Take their beautiful books, and the right to pen them:
they will be written in the long nights of anguish;
they will be written in the blood of the trampled;
they will be torn from the heart, and be written
and ever and ever re-written at the great strong desks of the mind.

Take their rising songs, and the right to sing them:
the scars will be healed, and, while they are healing,
the thought will go deeper, and the note will grow sweeter,
the pitch will be true, and the range will be wider;
every meadowland murmur, every mountain-peak call,
will be muted deep down in the streams of the heart.

Take their homes, and their gardens and the right to keep them:
they will keep the foundations as the rock in the earth:
they will keep seed in darkness till the sun reappears:
they will keep the hearth lit in the homes of the heart.

Take their right to worship: though your whip's above them;
though the fingers that played on the harps of the world,
though the hands that brought here the sounds of the heavens,
though they all be rougher and redder and bleed,
though your whip's above them as they kneel at labor,
they will kneel at the organ, they will kneel in prayer.

Take everything else from the proud people—
you can never take pride!

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Must We Hate to Fight?

NO—ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

CAN we kill other human beings if we do not hate them? I suppose the answer must come from those in our fighting forces. Some young people will tell you that unless you hate the people of Germany and Japan, you cannot possibly win. On the other hand, many a young soldier going into the war, will assure you that he cannot hate the individuals of any race. He can only hate the system which has made those individuals his enemies. If he must kill them in order to do away with the system, he will do so, but not because he hates them as individuals. If those who say that to win the war we must hate, are really expressing the beliefs of the majority of our people, I am afraid we have already lost the peace, because our main objective is to make a world in which all the people of the world may live with respect and good will for each other in peace.

If we allow the hate of other men as individuals to possess us, we cannot discard hate the day we have won and suddenly become understanding and coöperative neighbors.

There will be no victory if out of this war we simply develop armed camps again throughout the world. We may in the interests of self preservation cut down the actual race to obtain guns, planes, and battleships because no people will survive if it goes on, nor will those who survive have the wherewithal for the decencies of life. Even if we cut out all weapons of force, there can exist armed camps in the minds of people, which express themselves through the economic systems which we set up and through all the barriers which we set up between peoples to keep them from real understanding. If we really do not mean that after this war we intend to see that people the world over, have an opportunity to obtain a satisfactory life, then all we are doing is to prepare for a new war. There is no excuse for the bloodshed, the sacrifices, and the tears which the world as a whole is now enduring, unless we build a new worthwhile world.

The saving grace for most of us is that hope does spring eternal in the human breast. We do believe that just around the corner is that solution to our problems which we have long been looking for and that human beings will never give up till they find the answers.

I believe that the solution will be easier to find when we work together, and when all the plans, all the abilities of people the world over, are concentrated on finding positive solutions, but if we hate each other then I despair of achieving any ultimate good results.

I will acknowledge that it is easier to urge upon our people that they hate those whom we now must fight as individuals, because it is always easier to build up contempt and dislike for that which is making us suffer than it is to force ourselves to analyze the reasons which have brought about these conditions and try to eliminate them.

In small ways we see over and over again that the child who is badgered and punished in youth, grows up to treat anyone weaker than himself in much the same way. That is probably what we will do to the people of our nation as a whole when we tell them that in fighting to stamp out cruelty and hate, dominated by force, they must hate. Somehow as a whole the thousands in our fighting forces must preserve a belief and a respect for the individual and a hate only of the system, or else we will go down ourselves, victims of the very system which today we are striving to conquer.

YES—NORMAN COUSINS

LET'S not kid ourselves. War is no tea party. Of course it would be nice if we could win this war without hate. It would be even nicer if we could win it without having to kill. But we can't win it without killing, and I doubt if we can kill without hate.

Nor do I think we should be expected to kill without hate. Savages and professional murderers, yes; but not civilized man. To a normal individual who must go out and shoot another human being, the act of killing is a terriffic emotional experience and shock. It must be cushioned by the knowledge that he is doing right, that he has destroyed something that *had* to be destroyed because it represented a direct threat to his country, his family, and himself. Under these circumstances, hate is not only understandable but inevitable and necessary.

Certainly war provokes hate and distrust and all the other undesirable emotions we have been taught all our lives to shun and abhor. But let us at least be realistic enough to recognize war for what it is. War is not fought with positive values. If it were, we would be pitting our music and art and literature against German music and art and literature. War is fought with negative values. It is the greatest test of competitive destruction known on earth. And to say that hate can be outlawed during war is to take refuge in the most futile sort of wishful thinking. The thing for us to do, obviously, is not to blind our eyes to the presence of hate, but to attempt to see that it finds a healthy expression and is pooled into the total effort.

Does it sound strange to think of hate as being capable of having a healthy expression? It shouldn't. There are certain hates we need and should be proud to have. The hate of injustice and cruelty and persecution. The hate of those whose torture has already taken a toll of millions and twisted and crippled the lives of millions more. The hate of those who would destroy the meaning of America.

When you read the story of what happened to Lidice, the Czech town that was burned to the ground and all its men and older boys shot and all its women and children carried off—when you read this story, what emotions do you feel? And if you do not identify that emotion as a just hate, then put yourself in the position of the Czechs. How do you think they feel? Do you think they can escape hate? Do you expect that they should?

But hate is an ugly word. We have associated it with everything in life that is undesirable or uncivilized, and most of us fear that if hate ever enters our minds, it will contaminate us and somehow make us the less Christian for it. Perhaps so, but the word hate, like the word criticism, is misleading unless it is qualified. Criticism can be helpful or it can be destructive. Hate, too, can spring from widely different impulses and have different manifestations. And if you still shy away from the word itself, think of it as being capable of being synonymous with wrath—righteous wrath, wrath that burns down deep within us against fantastic cruelty or a worldwide scale.

About this point in the discussion someone is certain to ask whether we shouldn't try to make a distinction between hating an idea or a system and the individual who represents that idea. Here, too, it would be fine if it could be done. It is a noble question though I am afraid an academic one. Are we to hate Hitlerism but not Hitler? Are we to hate Nazism but not Nazis? What is Nazism but the individuals who are giving it life? If anything, the most

(*Continued on following page*)

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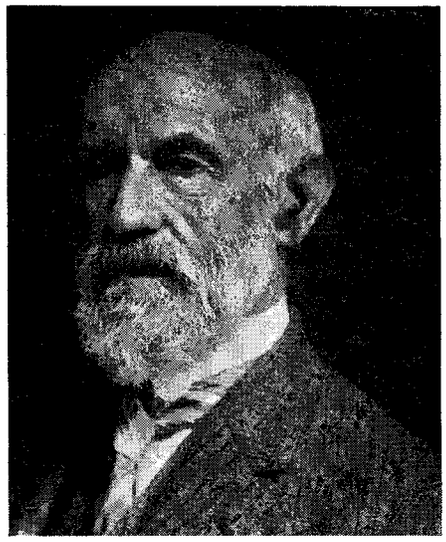
loathsome thing about Nazism is the Nazi—a person who has joined a gang which boasts of its sadism—a sadism on a mass scale as despicable and hateful as anything in history. If it is at all possible to make fine distinctions about hate in time of war—and the wish may be far easier than the deed—I think it would be far better if we were to make them, if only in theory, between individuals—between Nazis and non-Nazis—than between the system and the individuals representing it.

Granted all this—but won't hate become a habit? Won't it poison us for the big job of reconstruction to come? I doubt that it will, unless we are also to say that the habit of killing today is going to make us all murderers tomorrow. Naturally, war is going to leave its scars—and pretty deep scars at that—but once the danger to our lives and our freedom is past, the main impulse behind our hate will lose its sharpness and force.

One more thing: can we reconcile even a just hate with Christian ethics? Of course we can. "There is a time for everything," says the Bible. "There is a time for love and a time for hate."

The time for hate is now.



G. Stanley Hall

G. Stanley Hall's "Morale"

CARROLL C. PRATT

"THUS, although Pandora has opened her old box and again let loose all of its evils upon mankind, we find a new hope at the bottom, *viz.*, personal, civic, social, industrial, and religious morale, the acme of healthfulness of body and soul. Like the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober our appeal is now from Mansoul sick to Mansoul well, and we must and will believe that this appeal will be heard."

These closing sentences from Hall's book* on morale were written not yesterday, but towards the end of World War I. Their striking and disturbing relevance to the situation that confronts the world today is one of the numerous reasons for the present intense concern for problems of morale. The hope men set their hearts upon in 1918 turned to ashes, and unless the appeal "from Mansoul sick to Mansoul well" can be made audible and effective after the present blackout is over, the dawn will again be false. The fear that the wings of morale were unprepared to reach the heights required for World War II, or that a catastrophic tailspin might follow the cessation of formal hostilities, has been the driving incentive for the formation of innumerable groups, committees, and agencies dedicated to the study and cultivation of those attitudes which make for a will to fight and an even stronger will to win the peace. It is unfortunate that for some obscure reason the word morale itself tends to produce an unfavorable response in the minds of many people.

A selected bibliography** of recent literature on morale lists about 100 titles, and could easily be expanded to three times that number, whereas the bibliography at the end of Hall's 1920 book contains only a few titles that bear directly on the subject, such as Harold Goddard's "Morale," L. H. Gulick's "Morals and Morale," and the well-known little book "Morale and Its Enemies" by William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Although Hocking's book was published two years before Hall's, actually the two may be regarded as simultaneous in their appearance, as well as similar in their motive and inspiration, for in 1917 the Professor of Psychology and President of Clark University turned nearly the whole of his thought and energy to the study of war and published an extensive outline of his book in the *Psychological Bulletin* in 1918.

G. Stanley Hall's "Morale," like all of his other numerous books and articles, is extremely uneven in merit. Many pages grip the reader by the intense fervor of their literary style, their sweep of imagination, flashes of insight, range of information, and provocative analogies; other pages leave the impression of professorial padding and careless workmanship. World War II is making extensive and sometimes terrifying use of certain psychological principles,* and methods for applying professional psychologists had to say propaganda and measuring morale have acquired numerous technical intricacies during the armistice between the two wars. Yet no one today, despite the wide publicity given the topic, has felt the importance or grasped the nature of morale more vividly than did Hall a quarter of a century ago. It is therefore appropriate and timely to recall what one of America's first on the subject, especially since this year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the American Psychological Association, many of whose three thousand or more members and associates are engaged by the federal government for the prosecution of psychological warfare. Hall was the first president and one of the founders of that organization, and shared only with William James the honor of election to its presidency a second time.

Hall had one great advantage over most of the psychologists of today who are studying and writing about morale. He was thoroughly versed not only in the psychological literature of his day, ranging all the way from the classical precision and exactness of Fechner and Wundt to the stimulating romanticism of Freud; by temperament he was also a theologian and philosopher, and from earliest student days until his death devoted much of his time to studies which most psychologists of World War II would thrust aside as the nonsensical verbalisms of metaphysics. Morale may one day be a science. But until that time an effective treatment of the subject would seem to demand the best intuitions of common sense and the acquired wisdom of philosophy, both of which commodities Hall possessed in good measure, and was not ashamed to use whenever he ran out of patience or out of the acceptable materials of the professional psychologist.

Morale differs from *morality* and *conscience* in the recognition which it gives to instinctive, unconscious, and habitual impulsions to virtue. Conscience involves critical deliberation within the narrow focus of self-consciousness, but excludes most of those powerful energies of the soul that operate beyond the range of direct awareness.

"The case of conscience must be sub-

*"MORALE: the Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct." By G. Stanley Hall. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1920. 378 pp.

**I. L. Child, "MORALE: a Bibliographical Review," in *Military Psychology*, edited by C. C. Pratt, *Psychological Bulletin*, 1941, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University.

*"PSYCHOLOGY: the Third Dimension of War," by C. C. Pratt. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942.

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mitted to an inner oracle, but the brief which consciousness submits can never contain all the data. Hence comes casuistry and every kind of perversion. The sins done in the name of conscience are many and great; hence codes and laws are necessary." Good morale draws upon deeper and more reliable sources of action, as in the case of the sailor who plunged in to save a rich church-lady who had fallen from a ferry, but who allowed as how he would have let the damned old women drown if he had known what a fuss her parish was going to make over him. "If we always did right, we should no more know that we had a conscience than the well man knows he has a stomach, heart, or nerves. To be conscious of conscience means that evil has found entrance and that if we now do right, we do so only with a majority of our faculties and not unanimously with them all."

In the flickering light of conscience the best guide is *honor*. A slur upon it inspires the cowardly boy to fight, the most unabashed girl to blush, and the threat of its loss impels even timid men to face death. It is akin to the spirit of true sportsmanship which leads a tennis player, without affectation and deliberation, to throw a point rather than win a game as the result of some fluke stroke or accident on the part of his opponent. It was found in the days of the French Commune when officers on their way to the guillotine refused even to glance or wave at their sorrowing wives lest such an act of recognition involve their loved ones in a similar doom. "The noblest function of honor is to regulate love for and duties to posterity, for all the issues of future generations are now committed to the honor of young men and young women." Yet like conscience, honor may become too conscious and therefore subject to syllogistic quibbling and perversions. It is not absent even among thieves, prostitutes, and beggars.

Morale is related to the ideal of the *superman*, not as that doctrine has been perverted by the followers of Nietzsche, but rather as a high level of aspiration towards which all men must strive if human evolution is ever to reach its goal. In the stirring appeal which Fichte made to his countrymen, after their hopes had been shattered by Napoleon, he urged them to remember that they still had a noble literature and philosophy, great universities, the beginnings of brilliant science, and the finest music in the world. Later leaders of Germany twisted the meaning of this appeal into a false sense of power. Germany thus became "an easy victim to the spell of militarism. She threw the sword into the scale already tipping in her favor without it, and so upset the equilibrium of the world. Her fall was thus due to the delusion that the fittest are the strongest, and by this ghastly error, which all great Germans of two generations ago would have abhorred, she has not only set back the progress of the world but has for a long time to come handicapped her own legitimate influence."

The ideal of superhumanity need not be mere delusion of grandeur. Indeed it must be, for the hopes of the world community can only be realized by the support of a genuine aristocracy of native gifts and cultivated attainments. In a democracy men should strive to be equal only in opportunity. Everyone can excel in something, and it is the business of every agency that can be utilized for that end to find out what that something is. Yet the lesser supermen, like the moralists, may become too self-conscious. Even the best man in the world who knows himself to be such is already spoiled by that knowledge.

Morale combines the highest ideals of conscience, honor, and super-humanity, but transcends them all by translating their virtues into real here-and-now psychological states located within the individual. The concern of religion has always been to foster and maintain high morale, but the effectiveness of traditional religion is too frequently weakened on the one hand by the disintegrating influence of higher criticism, and on the other by the meaningless ritual involved in the subtle idolatry of supernatural sanctions and rewards. Morale escapes both of these dangers, for the higher criticism of modern psychology has rediscovered the truth of religion within the psychosomatic structure of man himself. The principles of morale, as dealt with in Hall's last chapter, are concerned with psychic rebirth, the power of love, the consesquences of sin, with prayer as uttered or unexpressed desire, with confession as psychotherapy, with heaven and hell as keeping alive the sense of justice, and with God and immortality as a hidden source of energy that shall not have performed its work in vain.

It took the awful psychic earthquake of war to reveal the power and scope of morale. "Morale is simply this—to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tiptop of condition. It implies the maximum of vitality, life abounding, getting and keeping in the very center of the current of creative evolution; and minimizing, destroying, or avoiding all checks, arrests, and inhibitions to it."

"You don't need a gun here, Butch, just a library card."

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A Bibliography on Morale

A Selected List

LAURA POLANYI STRIKER

LISTED below is a selected group of titles on morale, or bearing on the subject, published in recent months. This list does not include but supplements the books reviewed in this issue. It will be noted that the list pays especial attention to the fields discussed in the articles in these pages.

Morale in Wartime

Civilian Morale. Goodwin Watson, ed. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.
A highly penetrating survey of civilian morale in all its aspects.

Organizing for Total War. F. J. Brooks. ed. Philadelphia: Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Social and Political Science, Vol. 220.

Footprints of the Trojan Horse. New York: Citizenship Educational Service, Inc.
A smart, well-illustrated leaflet showing the Trojan horse strategy of the Axis in attempting to weaken American Morale.

Labor and the War. W. Z. Foster. New York: Workers Library Publishers.
On the attitude which labor should take in the present war.

National Morale. New York: The Amer. Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXVII.

Divide and Conquer. Office of Facts and Figures. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
An exposé of the arguments used by the Axis in its effort to destroy the morale and national unity of the United States.

To Parents in Wartime. New York: United States Children Bureau.
Problems of morale as they pertain to children.

Civilian Morale. Zorbaugh, H. W. ed. New York: N. Y. Univ. Press. (Jour. of Educational Sociology.)

America Organizes to Win the War. A Handbook on the American War Effort. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.
All twenty-one contributors give basic arguments for building and safeguarding American Democracy.

The Hope of a New World. W. Temple. New York: Macmillan Co.
The Archbishop of York (England) writes "we are fighting for an order of society which gives free course to the Christian Gospel and offers a hope of advance towards a truly Christian civilization."

The Road We Are Travelling. St. Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund.
Recent trends in American life challenge the U. S. to make an end to the paradox of plenty.

Federalism as a Democratic Process: Essays. R. Pound, Ch. H. McIlwain, and R. F. Nichols. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
Three essays looking toward Federalism as opposed to power politics in the post-war world.

Total Victory: Preparation for a Total Peace. St. King-Hall. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
Emphasizing the battlefield of brains. In domestic policies for a New Britain and in world policies for a New World Order, the psychological side of the endeavor must be stressed.

Strategy for Democracy. J. D. Kingsley, and D. W. Petegorsky. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
The profound scepticism of the revolutionary period we live in should give way to an active and working manner of facing the realities necessary for a functioning and progressive world.

The War Message. F. D. Roosevelt. Philadelphia: Rittenhouse.
The Addresses of the President to the Nation and Congress in Dec., 1941, concerning the involvement of the United States in the war with the Axis.

No Other Road to Freedom. L. Stowe. New York: A. A. Knopf.
Concerning the spiritual bankruptcy which paralyzes a large portion of its citizens. We have to become conscious of our vital interest in victory as the only way to decent life.

The Price of Free World Victory. H. A. Wallace. New York: L. B. Fisher.
One of the most important utterances on the War Aims of the United Nations. The Peoples' Revolution is on the march. . . .

War and Post-War Aims

The Newspaper and Society. G. L. Bird, and F. E. Merwin, ed. A book of readings. New York: Prentice-Hall.
A full record and discussion of problems arising from the relationship between press and society. Public Opinion, Group Opinion, the Manifestations of the Social Mind—all these elements of social morale, are investigated, as well as propaganda and the propagation of Ideas.

Freedom of the Press Today: A Clinical Examination by Twenty-Eight Specialists. H. Le Claire Ickes, ed. New York: Vanguard.
The contributors agree in urging the use of the press against saboteurs of democracy.

National Morale, Social Cleavage and Political Allegiance. P. T. Lazarsfeld, and R. Durant.

What Some Newspapers Are Doing to Combat War Hysteria. R. J. Thackrey. New York: Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 19.

The Press in the Contemporary Scene. M. M. Willey, and R. D. Casey, editors. Philadelphia: Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Social and Political Science, Vol. 219.
Twenty-six publications in this volume stress the opinion-forming work of the press and its responsibility for democracy's future.

Radio and Morale

A Paper on a Wartime Code of Practises for Radio. Byron Price. Washington, D. C.: Office of Censorship.
The censor states in this official paper that radio is one of the greatest liaison officers between the fighting front and the people.

We Hold These Truths. N. Corwin. New York: Howell, Soskin.
A dramatic broadcast given on the radio on the official Bill of Rights program and an address by President Roosevelt.

National Morale and the Radio. The Evaluation of School Broadcasts Staff. Columbus, O.: Ohio State University.
An analysis of morale in a democracy and the part radio may play in it.

Controlling Broadcasting in Wartime. C. J. Friedrich. Boston: Harvard University.
To safeguard civilian morale the author advises radio to carry on as an entertainment medium.

"Hate?". Report on radio-educators conference in wartime. New York: The American Forum of the Air.

New Horizons in Radio. H. S. Hettinger, ed. Philadelphia: Annals of the American Academy for Socia' and Political Science.
A review of the present wartime uses of radio, especially of its public opinion influencing functions.

This Freedom: Thirteen New Radio Plays. A. Oboler. New York: Random House.
The author is writing for an audience that understands and appreciates him. "Precious Freedom" won the Radio Academy Award.

(*Continued on page* 29)

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Has the Problem of American Democracy Ever Been More Clearly Stated?

Read: THE GOOD INHERITANCE

THIS IS WHAT THE EXPERTS SAY:

Simeon Strunsky, one of the editors of The New York Times, an authority on comparative history, wrote in a full-page review in the Sunday Book Section of The Times:

"Among the considerable number of new books on democracy that have come to his notice, the present reviewer finds it hard to recall a more straightforward and useful lesson for our times than is contained in the present volume."

This, too, was the verdict of John Cournos, the historian and critic, who wrote in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin:

"Of books on democracy there is no end, but 'The Good Inheritance' is so good it simply cannot be passed."

A similar opinion was expressed by Claude M. Fuess, the educator and biographer, in writing about the book in The Boston Herald:

"Of the books of this type that have come within my range, this is quite the best. It tells the truth, often the unpalatable truth, but the kind of truth to which we must listen if we are not to meet the fate of Athens. . . . A penetrating, highly significant examination of our present national temperament and temper."

Jacques Barzun, author of "Of Human Freedom" wrote in The Saturday Review that he was impressed with the "rhythm and color of the thought . . . and the funded experience." He added:

"He deals in principles, for he is sensitive to actual differences of scales, but he shows the principles in action, briefly and pointedly, in the manner of Montesquieu."

Allan Nevins, in a "recommended" review in The-Book-of-the-Month Club News said:

"A strikingly clear lesson. . . . No book could be more timely than this."

WITHOUT any fanfare or advertising pressure, a book published several months ago has quietly come forward as one of the leading works of our day. It is *The Good Inheritance,* by Norman Cousins, which goes beyond a credo for free peoples, putting this war in its true historical perspective. Its basic theme is "the rebirth in America of the promise of Athenian democracy."

Norman Cousins shows how the successes and failures of Greek democracy guided the men who founded America, and how the democratic idea is now facing on a world scale, the same kind of crisis it faced in the era before Christ. This is a human and appealing excursion among forces and ideas that must be clearly understood in the winning not only of the battle today but of the even greater struggle for tomorrow.

After you read this book, you will see why it moved Vice President Henry A. Wallace to send a letter of congratulations to the author, and why many progressive thinkers are getting behind it with such enthusiasm.

This is what John Chamberlain had to say in The New York Times about the story of the Athenian parallel as developed in this book:

"Into a compact running narrative . . . Mr. Cousins has poured a subject that is worthy of the expansiveness of a Gibbon, yet all the important points emerge clearly. . . . It can be put together with Guglielmo Ferrero's *The Reconstruction of Europe* to form a 'must' document with those who are interested in making a lasting peace."

"The Good Inheritance," as well as Mr. Cousins' excellent companion volume, "A Treasury of Democracy," is available at all bookstores.

The Good Inheritance

By Norman Cousins

COWARD-McCANN, Inc. **$3.00**

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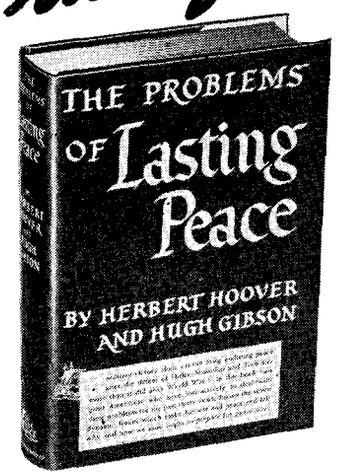
Praise for



Major-General Frank R. McCoy
President, Foreign Policy Association. ". . . We have, in this book, that ever-present help of responsible men of the most valued experience. They are to be congratulated for giving it to the public."

James T. Shotwell,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "The chief purpose of this volume is the education of the American people for the new and inescapable tasks which confront it. The method of presentation is a stroke of genius."

William Allen White,
Editor. "I do not recall when I have read a book which seems so timely, so sane, and at the same time so full of courage. . . The making of this book is a great patriotic service . . ."

Carrie Chapman Catt.
"The Hoover-Gibson book will prove invaluable to the makers of the peace."

Bainbridge Colby,
Former Secretary of State under President Wilson. ". . . I cannot but think that a masterwork such as this which clarifies the aims of the United Nations will prove a major contribution to the victory."

Felix Morley,
Editor. ". . . A guide book for the discovery of a happier world . . . the equivalent of a major military triumph now . . . If it can be placed in German hands this slim volume will alone do much to create the 'second front' of which there is such need."

William L. Chenery,
Editor. "A scholarly and statesmanlike approach to a problem of enormous difficulty . . . A powerful stimulant to honest and clear thinking."

Margaret Deland,
Author. "A noble book."

THE PROBLEMS OF Lasting Peace
by Herbert Hoover & Hugh Gibson
$2.00 DOUBLEDAY, DORAN

How to Vanquish the Foe

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY. By Hanson W. Baldwin. New York: W. W. Norton. 172 pp. $1.75.

Reviewed by ROGER SHAW

Hanson Baldwin

HERE is an outstanding short outline of how to vanquish the Germans and Japanese. It proposes to match Total Effort against Total War, and to do so as effectively as possible, in the shortest possible time. It is readable, reasonable, and easy to understand. The author, Hanson Baldwin, is probably America's outstanding military critic at this point, and his views—which are always broad and objective—carry considerable weight. For Baldwin is neither a faddist nor an addict of any special "track" branch of the service. He surveys all angles, and unifies many factors, instead of riding a hobby, as did Liddell Hart, Admiral Mahan, General Douhet, Marshal Foch, and a number of other well-known practitioners and students of the military art. This, in itself, is perhaps something of a relief, in an era of panegyrics over panaceas.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first part asserts that "the Axis can be defeated." The second part deals with "total mobilization of effort." The third part goes into the means of "taking the offensive." Baldwin—*Times* expert that he is—first analyzes the forces of the enemy, both in Europe and in Asia. In this connection, he gives some very interesting army, navy, and air figures of a statistical nature: figures as accurate as they can be made at the present time. Then he deals with the home front, the unification of national endeavor, the rostering of civilianhood, and the retention of "what is vital."

There follow chapters on the use of our seapower, airpower, and manpower, combined with data on economic pressures, political pressures, and psychological pressures. Torpedo, bomb, tank, blockade, politics, and propaganda he coördinates into a coherent, aggressive whole, not in any Pollyanna spirit, but with a stark realism which appears to be incontrovertible. The enemy he considers neither supermen nor robots, but as professionals often pitted against amateurs.

Baldwin takes up the net results of a Nazi-dominated Europe, and a Jap-administered Asia. He does not like the prospect, and gives six good reasons why. He does this quite unemotionally, but he believes in emotion, none the less. "Let the bands play and the flags wave; let there be parades and mass meetings and songs; war is and must be emotional, or it is not war, and unless the emotions and the mind of America are totally enlisted, we cannot fight Total War." This note on emotionalism is certainly very true, and belongs in a serious military treatise of the modern "total" nature. There has been only one major period of warfare, historically, in which the emotional element was notably lacking. This was in the calmly "enlightened" Age of Reason, with its strictly "limited" wars, which lasted—in the military sense—from the end of emotional religious warfare (1648) to the opening of emotional nationalist-revolutionary warfare (1792).

When it comes to "enlisting the civilian"—a process which first began with the French revolutionary draft of 1793—Baldwin recommends twelve patriotic occupations, ranging from blood-banking and bond-buying to the salvage of commodities and proper diet. He thinks that civilian defense and morale has been treated too much like a step-child in America, and that it is "a vital and necessary part of any program for victory."

Baldwin's remarks about the future of navies is particularly interesting. He thinks the "capital ship" of the future may be a handy armored blend of the battleship and the airplane carrier, for the aerial bomb and torpedo are now ascendant over the traditional naval gun. His technical observations on the air-strafing of cities are extremely timely and interesting. "There are many good ways to win the war; we must be careful that we do not try to take them all"—almost an epigram. He then discusses varying plans very astutely. His final sentence is yet another effective epigram: "Only America can defeat America."

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Can the Folk Govern?

THE NEW BELIEF IN THE COMMON MAN. By Carl J. Friedrich. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1942. 345 *pp.* $3.

Reviewed by ORDWAY TEAD

WHAT warrant is there for the notion that the common man can and will succeed in running his own collective affairs? What is the basis for our confidence that ordinary folks can govern themselves?

It is to the answering of these questions that this book is addressed. The aim is to validate "the belief that the mass of common men are, in the long run, less likely to be wrong than the individual judgment of any superman, or the limited judgment of any self-appointed élite."

Why the common man is wise enough for self-government; how ideas of statism, propaganda, majority rule, minority dissent, and bureaucracy confuse the issue; why the concept of an "élite" is not valid; how government and public planning can help to strengthen the common man—by developing these topics Professor Friedrich upholds his theme "that a solid foundation for a free world is to be found only in a universal common man, a world public."

Not the least of the interesting features of this book is the spectacle of the political scientist throwing off the shackles of the usual "academic" approach in favor of a personal and human look at the potential working of a democracy, and in favor, too, of a recognition that poetry, no less than politics, throw valid light on the case for the common man.

Another interesting aspect, which I leave with the reader for further reflection, is the reliance placed upon the character element in the common man, as over against the element of intellect. "The common man is trustworthy because he is, in the aggregate, a man of character rather than of intellect. . . . " "In the forming of political judgment, character is more important than intellect . . . intellect interferes with character." "Character, the consistent loyalty to believed standards, is accepted on the basis of education for free men." Laudable as such sentiments may seem out of context, the reader should remember that to try to maintain this sharp division between integrity and thoughtfulness, between good will and good method, does not advance our thinking as to how to assure the competence of the common man in action.

In fact, so eager is Professor Friedrich to treat his problem from an overall rather than a specialist's view, that it is surprising to sense his lack of interest in psychological insights as support for his belief in the common man. "In spite of modern psychology," he says, such a belief is "quite tenable." The fact of basic drives, desires, and aims which we all share in common and which therefore supply strong common bonds—this psychological approach is minimized. Nor is any religious basis suggested beyond the mention that "the rise of the common man is associated with the rise of individualism." And if the reader happens to believe that the rise of individualism was motivated by religious influences to an important degree, he can pursue his own reflections upon why the common man is the seat of sovereign power.

The author quotes Professor Toynbee approvingly when he says, "There can be no international ethos without a religious basis." But what the religious basis is and how it actually helps to foster the personal responsibility upon which the case for the common man rests is not explicitly discussed.

Rather, the importance of a drive to "workmanship"—to do a good job at whatever one sets his hand—is stressed, together with the creative value of group or collective action as being more than the sum of the ideas of the individuals in the group. The discussion of "fundamentals"—a word which is never defined—leaves this reader less than satisfied, not because what is said is necessarily untrue, but because enough is not said.

I am not sure I know what Mr. Friedrich means when he says, "What binds a free people together is not an agreement on fundamentals, but a common way of acting in spite of disagreement on fundamentals." I cannot but ask out of what "a common way of acting" arises if it is not a cultured and intellectual background, which is essentially "an agreement on fundamentals."

If I have noted points of doubt and difficulty in this book, that is not because of disagreement. There is much here that needs to be shouted from the house-tops. Its total spirit and atmosphere are admirable and prophetic. Its stress upon the extension of the cause of the common man to universal, world-wide scope is timely. Its proposal for a "world convention of men and women of thought rather than action" is highly suggestive. The common man fares well with this author—without any taint of sentimentality, yet without pessimism. The book is a heartening index of the times and of the trend of humane thought. It is, however, my personal reservation that the new belief in the common man can be rooted in convictions which are more than pragmatic, which relate man to his place in nature and in the cosmos in ways which are organic and inescapably absolute.

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The Epic of Bataan

MEN ON BATAAN. By John Hersey. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. 313 *pp.* $2.50.

Reviewed by FLETCHER PRATT

ONE of the grimmest horrors of modern war has been its literature. In fact, World War I produced none at all except from those who stood above the battle, or wrote of it afterward through the enchanted haze of reminiscence. If you reply to this, "What about Le Feu?" I say, go read it. It is as extreme in its way as "Over the Top" and "If Winter Comes" in theirs, touched with that violent emotional thinking necessary to the prosecution of whatever combat. It is only different from them because its anchors are directed against objectives which have been regarded as more legitimately the concern of human thought than theirs.

That regard traces to a single generation, which we know was not too much lost but pacificist; "Le Feu" (and "Men In War," which is another version of the same story) had a great deal to say about a world ruined by the ideas of Pontiré, nothing at all to warrant trying to escape from domination of the ideas of Hitler. Or perhaps this is only another sign of the efficacy of that German propaganda which is so inaccurately described as stupid—that it succeeded in palming off on us Anglo-Saxons as a mere dynastic quarrel the first act of what was to prove a feud between two civilizations, one continental and autocratic, one polagic and individualist.

The failure, the literary failure of twenty-five years ago, to identify the true nature of the quarrel may well have been one of the determining causes of the jam in which we find ourselves today. It left the effort to prevent another war in the hands of quack doctors of the Kellogg stamp, who insisted that if the patient would only swallow one more scrap of paper he would never have any more trouble. Bernard DeVoto has constructively criticized the *mea culpa* of the irresponsibles who followed those writers of the last war on the ground that they were not really responsible, that they exaggerated both their powers and their responsibility. But the fact is that nobody was responsible, nobody with the ability to say anything took the trouble to say that patriotism was anything but the last refuge of a scoundrel or democracy in America was anything but a fake.

Which is a long preface leading up to the remark that the most hopeful sign along the battlements of the world is that the war is at last producing literature of such a quality, with such a content of ideas, that it need not be read with shame after the war. "Berlin Diary" and "Failure of a Mission" are good reporting that can be matched from the last war; but "Retreat to Arras" and "Strategy of Terror," are different, and Yank Levy's "Guerilla Warfare" is a little classic; and now we have "Men on Bataan," which is not a good war book but a good book period.

It is consciously literary in construction. Mr. Hersey had heard somewhere that the boy is father of the man and has made it his text, so that there are really two books, a biography of General MacArthur and the story of the siege of Bataan, moving contrapuntally opposite each other till they merge. Each episode from the General's past illustrates or leads up to something he did or that happened on the besieged peninsula. Obviously such a plan creates too severe a strain for any form but that of fiction to bear without cracks; obviously some of the connections have to be forced or merely verbal, as when a chapter on MacArthur's good spirits is made to terminate with a description of him as having "little need of doctors" and this phrase is turned, in the next chapter into a discussion of the bitter need of medical care during the siege.

The important thing is that so intricate and literary a structure should have been attempted for such a purpose. The battle for the world is at last considered as worthy of something beyond the level of good reporting. Not that the book lacks for journalism, and of a high order, especially in the Bataan sequences. Mr. Hersey had the use of the *Time-Life* eye-witness accounts from trained eye-witnessers, like Jacoby, who was later killed in Australia, and the Mydans family. He could check this information against an extensive personal acquaintance with the East, which dates from his birth in Tientsin, and he brightens up the whole narrative with remarks on Japanese soldiers who yelled "Nertz to you, Joe," in good San Francisco English, and a picture of the heart-rending confidence of the men of Bataan in the big convoy that never came.

Most of the story, in fact, lies between those two items—a story of men risking death and the kind of massive depredations the Japanese know so well how to inflict, certain that the people back home would not let them down. But the people back home had already let them down, in the days when Douglas MacArthur, as Chief of Staff, tried in vain to convince mid-western Congressmen that wars could not be ended by turning one's back on them and declaring armaments manufacturers were merchants of death.

This is the central theme of the book; the cement that binds the personal biography of the General to the story of the General and his men. He came to see what he had foreseen, to watch the men he knew die because it was more important for labor to have union recognition, farmers to have agricultural parity, and bankers

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to have four per cent than for any of them to protect what they already had. At the Congressional hearings on the General's proposal for a GHQ air force, the only questions asked were those leading to how much'll it cost us, and then, "We are getting a little bored (it is 1934) so we get up and leave."

Here were the true irresponsibles, this was the true failure of democracy. Its hope of success, nowhere expressed in what is a straightforward narrative of events, but always implicit in the events chosen and their juxtaposition, lies in the fact that neither MacArthur nor the men of Bataan allowed this kind of treatment to get them down. They laughed, they played jokes, treated war not indeed as a festive occasion, but as a business like another, which could be accomplished by men of goodwill without losing their humanity. Partly, as Mr. Hersey shows, this was due to the General himself, a singularly flamboyant personality whom nothing can dismay, who declared, in the days when no one else believed it, that the Philippines could be held—with adequate means. But mostly it is inherent in the men themselves and their mission; the fact that they, as individuals of considerable skill and intelligence have found something in our way of life worth defending to the extent of their powers; in the fact that Mr. Hersey has found it worth the full extent of his powers to chronicle their defense. While that spirit exists, says the book, which should be read by every participant in the struggle, we shall never have too little—but it is already terribly late.

The Democratic Tradition

OF THE PEOPLE. By Harry R. Warfel and Elizabeth Manwaring. New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. 693 *pp.* $2.30.

Reviewed by GEORGE H. SHUSTER

HOW to convey the meaning of American democracy to young people is, after all, a more important question than is that of how to explain the prevailing dim awareness of the democratic tradition. The authors of the present anthology are good teachers and excellent scholars. They have tried to make a book that will fit into the complex but necessary and even sacrosanct mechanism of the curriculum. Frankly out to curry favor with teachers of composition, they have illustrated nearly all the forms. Here are scholarly papers and reviews; radio scripts and ballads; short stories and editorials. Much of the material is quite contemporary, but classic American utterance is not slighted. Even so it is an interesting compilation, which the average student is likely to read through with a feeling that he has enjoyed the experience.

Philosophically the book is built round Charles A. Beard's lucid summary of the "Essentials of Democracy." That is still a sound and challenging statement, though giving it to the student straightaway in its entirety is something of a venture. It will be beguiling to see what most of them do with it in college practice. There follows some discussion of rights, although the editors almost immediately cross up the student by giving him Stanley Pargellis's inquisitive but rather disconcerting analysis of the Anglo-American tradition of liberty. You go from that to Hawthorne's "Gray Champion" and a solid piece about the sources from which that familiar bit of symbolism is derived. This part of the survey comes to an abrupt halt with Anton J. Carlson's "A Broader Base for Science."

I shall assume that this sampling will indicate pretty well what the editors are attempting to do. They give the students a good deal to eat, and then they exercise him. Perhaps he will feel he is being cuffed about, but nobody can create American democrats worth their salt by coddling them on bits of sugar derived from Fourth of July orations. Going back to the book, one finds that it leads on through some discussion of literature, art, politics, economies, religion and many other things. Often the exposition is made with pleasurable obliqueness. And of course it comes at the end square up against contemporary realities with Mr. Roosevelt's "Address to the Nation" on the morning after Pearl Harbor.

There are some things to say in criticism. The editors are too Eastern. Their awareness of the Middle West extends only as far as Sherwood Anderson—a regrettable short-sightedness, for many blessings have come from that region recently. One misses the epic of the South in this compilation, too. After nearly a century it is apparent that Stonewall Jackson was an American of the very marrow of America. Finally, I surmise that the plan of the book will be more apparent to Mr. Warfel and Miss Manwaring than it will be to students. Nevertheless this is a first-rate collection of essays. It has substance, flavor and vitality. Education will profit immensely by its use.

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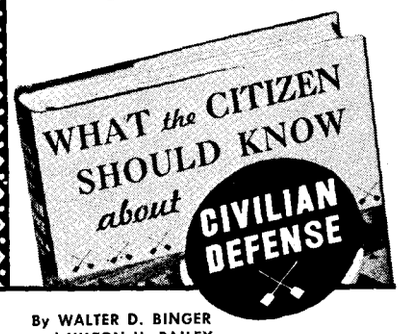

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Second Front of the Air

PROPAGANDA BY SHORT WAVE. Edited by Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. 355 *pp., with index.* $3.75.

Reviewed by CHARLES J. ROLO

A LITTLE white frame house on a quiet side street of Princeton, New Jersey, was for some twenty months the headquarters of the first American eavesdropping agency to cover systematically the battlefront of radio propaganda. The Princeton Listening Center, set up with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, had recorded, transcribed, and analyzed some 10,000,000 words of broadcast material when, in June, 1941, its receiving activities were discontinued following the creation of the Government's own 350-man Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service. The findings of the Listening Center are set forth in "Propaganda by Short Wave," which is the joint product of nine public opinion experts.

This book should be compulsory reading for all those currently responsible for U. S. propaganda to enemy and neutral countries. For it demonstrates with a wealth of scientifically marshalled data that any resemblance between the arts of peacetime news reporting and wartime propaganda is purely coincidental—a fact not always sufficiently appreciated by some of our newspapermen turned propagandist for the duration. It is also a timely reminder of the power of the radio weapon and to some degree a handbook on the strategy and tactics of radio warfare.

An exhaustively documented history of "Radio in International Politics," by John B. Whitton and John H. Herz, contains the first complete account of the sinister role of radio in the Saar plebiscite and in the rape of Austria. The ingenious strategems used by the Nazi radio to convert into a militant Fifth Column the "racial Germans" resident in foreign countries is also described in detail. "The Theory and Strategy of Nazi Short-wave Propaganda," by Philip E. Jacobs, analyzes the five main patterns in the German "Arsenal of Arguments"—division, reassurance, futility, dissension, and intimidation. These chapters, together with Edrita Fried's on "Techniques of Persuasion," are first-class stuff worthy of careful attention.

Other sections cover British broadcasts to the United States; Atrocity Propaganda; the ludicrous attempts of Radio Roma—Berlin's branch office—to impress the world with braggadocio and vituperation; the tragic story of France's Paris Mondial—a case history of complacency, selfishness, and ineptitude, and a pointed warning of the consequences of "Maginot Line psychology" in the field of propaganda. In conclusion, Professor Childs reports the findings of the various surveys of the extent of short-wave listening in this country. According to the most recent, seven per cent of the total population listen at least once a week to some broadcast from Europe, while on any given day the German radio has an average audience of around 140,000.

"Propaganda by Short Wave" has certain obvious limitations. It only covers the war of words up to June, 1941. It does not touch upon the European Service of the BBC, the brilliant activities of the Russian radio, or the antics of the Japanese. The chapters on Radio Roma and Atrocity Propaganda, neither of which yield any useful conclusions, could profitably have been abbreviated. Finally, the rigorous academic "objectivity" of presentation is sometimes unfortunate.

However, these are relatively minor objections to an otherwise admirable study from which several points, highly pertinent at this moment, stand out. (1) The Nazis believe (rightly, I think) that the propagandist's most telling weapon is a challenging idea or "view of life." (2) Dr. Goebbels and his understudies mapped out strategies for radio broadcasting as though they were commanding tanks instead of words. The democracies have not as yet matched up to the enemy in the systematic planning of their propaganda. (3) The propagandist should always be on the offensive. (4) "The war for men's minds will be won by those nations whose war aims, . . . carry to the peoples of the world hopes and aspirations for something better after the fighting is over."

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War Comes to the Home

THE FAMILY IN A WORLD AT WAR. Edited by Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1942. 295 *pp.* $2.50.

Reviewed by RUTH BENEDICT

OUR war effort has made responsible adminstrators do a lot of thinking about the family. Modern war disrupts family life not only as in the past by taking men out of its circle as soldiers, but in innumerable and ever-increasing ways. It uproots thousands of families and sets them down in an area of defense industry without homes or schools for their children; it takes mothers out of the home into industry; in bombed areas it forces the separation of parents and children. At the same time war makes it clear that the family plays an indispensable part in our war effort.

Mrs. Gruenberg has done valuable service in bringing together between two covers thoughtful statements from twenty experienced people interested in the family and in children. From General Hershey, writing on the draft and the American family, and Paul V. McNutt, writing on social services on the home front, to reports on English war experiences by Susan Isaacs and Martha Eliot, each person has written on some subject on which he is particularly qualified to speak and which seems to him urgently important. There are articles on nutrition (Louise Stanley), on Social Security (Anna Rosenberg), on educational problems (Mark McClosky), on psychiatric problems (James S. Plant) and on youth (Eleanor Roosevelt; Caroline Zachry). Appendices reprint the excellent "Children in Wartime" prepared by the staff of the Child Study Association; "To Parents in Wartime" prepared by the United States Children's Bureau, and "A Children's Charter in Wartime" prepared by the Children's Bureau's Commission on Children in Wartime. There is also a bibliography for further reading.

The volume, therefore, serves admirably to bring together valuable material for mothers' study groups and for professional courses which need-up-to-the-minute supplements to their usual material.

The volume includes also articles on subjects which are not usually included in courses on the family and which, perhaps for that very reason, contribute greatly to the quality of the book. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, believing that how mothers occupy their time is basic in bringing up children who will be good citizens, writes an eloquent challenge to American leisure class wives. They have been caught, she says, on the horns of our cultural dilemma which has tied responsibility and self-discipline to a paid professional job and has left "volunteer" work without responsibility or status. But this situation is a trap only because we connive at it; actually women who need not take jobs are by that fact the freer to choose what civic or intellectual work they will do and how they will do it. They can train themselves as fully as career women and accept as much responsibility. If they do, they will get as much out of life and make as valuable a contribution as any professional. How long will women be content to reason that they can "work" only if they can get jobs? So long as they accept this idea, America will continue to make its traditional connection between volunteer work and work badly done.

Pearl Buck critizes our American view of the home as a refuge from the world. Parents who participate in the work of the world can include their children in their plans and activities, and their sons and daughters will grow up to be less anxious adults if they have not been overprotected from death and sickness and poverty.

Lawrence K. Frank centers his article around a truth that is ordinarily ignored. He shows how, no matter how much we sentimentalize about marriage and the family, our social life is nevertheless conducted with little or no consideration for the family. Business, education, the church, government and the rest all expect the family to make concession and adjustments. The family is supposed "to take it," no matter what happens, and if it finally falters and gives up the struggle, it gets only the condemnation of the self righteous.

"The Family in a World at War" is a timely contribution in a field which is basic in our American way of life.

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PRESS AND MORALE

(*Continued from page* 6)

wrong." This statement was a contribution to the building of a better national morale. So was the demonstration which Charles P. Taft gave to the Association of Junior Leagues of America that despite talk in sections of the press that war workers are paid fabulous wages, whereas soldiers get $21 a month, the average soldier "is paid as well as the average worker." The demonstration received regrettably little attention in editorial columns.

It would doubtless be true to say that the Achilles heel of the press in its current relationship to national morale occurs in its handling of labor news. It also is vulnerable, not infrequently, in its treatment of the New Deal. While the administration's domestic program is by no means perfect, and flaws can be found in it, even by those who are basically friendly, it is depressing to note Roosevelt-hating editors who overlook few opportunities to smear the President's methods and objectives, even in wartime. A conspicuous example of a newspaper which has pursued the opposite course is the country's foremost Republican organ, the New York *Herald Tribune,* which has put patriotism above party during the war, a fact recognized in the award to Geoffrey Parsons, its chief editorial writer, of a well-deserved Pulitzer Prize.

Per contra, one can only blink in amazement at finding a leading Eastern daily manifesting a complete lack of comprehension of so important a New Deal agency as the Farm Security Administration. To the editor of this paper, FSA, with its constructive program of long-term rehabilitation for one-crop tenants and sharecroppers, is just a "relief" agency, for which there is no need, now that there has been an "immense increase in farm prices." The paper's antipathy to the New Deal apparently led it to ignore completely the fact that high prices for the single crop on which the one-gallus farmer depends, provide nothing remotely resembling a permanent solution of his problems. FSA, on the other hand, frees him from the clutches of the "furnishing merchant," and enables him to diversify his plantings and to become self-supporting, while producing all-important food for the winning of the war. Yet the above quoted newspaper, with ample facilities for ascertaining the facts, showed a total unwillingness or incapacity to understand the issues involved. Its performance is even more astonishing than the declaration of a smaller daily in the same general region that FSA "was organized chiefly to get votes and spend money." Editors who vent their spleen against the administration so flagrantly in times like these are not contributing to the national welfare. By contrast, the intelligent and effective defense of FSA, given recently by such a paper as the Montgomery *Advertiser,* is cause for gratification.

In another area of activity, impinging still more directly upon our prosecution of the war, almost the entire press has acquitted itself well. I refer to the manner in which it has coöperated with the government in observing censorship regulations, some of which have not been easily understood. Here is a conspicuous example of willingness on the part of newspapers to subordinate private interest to the public good.

If it is argued by persons hostile to the press that when everybody coöperates by refraining from publishing news which might be useful to the enemy, nobody sacrifices anything, one answer is that when censorship was first imposed, editors could not be sure what their competitors would do. Consider, too, the attitude of those dailies which have been outspokenly hostile to the recent proposal that the Federal Government invest many millions of dollars in newspaper advertising. It is entirely possible to advocate such ad-

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Your Literary I. Q.

By Howard Collins

LITERARY CATS

Here are some questions concerning famous cats in literature. How many can you answer? Six is par, seven is good, and eight or better is excellent. Answers are on page 29.

1. What most unlady-like cat claimed to be the reincarnation of Cleopatra?
2. In what story did a man kill his wife because she tried to prevent his killing their cat and then find out, after he had walled up the body in the cellar, that he had walled in the cat also?
3. What cat had a habit of slowly fading away, leaving nothing behind but its grin?
4. Who sent a cat, his sole possession, on a trading exposition to Morocco and became immensely wealthy because the cat was such a good mouser?
5. What cat fought a dog in a terrific battle (reported by an old Dutch clock and a Chinese plate) which ended when the contestants ate each other up?
6. What famous English poet wrote an ode to his favorite cat who drowned in a goldfish bowl?
7. What cat was taught to speak English by a scientist at a house party, much to the embarrassment of the other guests?
8. What cat, brought up by the Bishop of Bongo-Bongo, never swerved from its austere dignity and high moral standards until it took to drink?
9. Who wrote a poem in which a pussycat eloped with an owl to the land where the bong tree grows?
10. What was the title of this member of cat-nobility who, until his sudden and mysterious disappearance while attending a dinner party, had fascinated society by conducting a symphony orchestra, using his tail as a baton?

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vertising without being venal or insincere, but certainly no one can deny that when a newspaper opposes large-scale government space-buying on the ground that it would be bad in principle, and tantamount to a Federal subsidy for the press, that newspaper is subordinating its own profits to what it conceives to be the general welfare. Among the dailies which have taken this unselfish position, at a time of drastically shrinking advertising revenues and mounting costs, are the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* New York *World-Telegram,* Chicago *Sun,* Louisville *Courier-Journal,* and Atlanta *Constitution.*

In concluding this discussion of the press in its relation to morale, I should like to refer briefly to the Negro press. The colored newspapers reflect, in large measure, the attitude of the colored population toward the war. Any reader of that press is apt to see that while the Negro is loyal to America, he has a natural sense of injustice and of adverse discrimination at the hands of the dominant race. The degree to which this injustice and discrimination is being emphasized by Negro editors and other Negro leaders at this time, and the insistence with which they are demanding a complete and immediate revolution in race relations in America has aroused no little concern among their white friends. These liberal-minded whites concede that many grievances of the blacks should be corrected, and they concede, further, that the Negro's disabililties are often the fault of the whites, but they cannot view with other than apprehension the speed with which Negro leadership, as exemplified in the Negro press, is pushing matters to a climax. Many Southerners who have long been conspicuous as champions of Negro rights, and some Northerners as well, are saying that much can be done hereafter by evolutionary processes in providing better levels of living and more valid opportunities for the blacks, but that the current effort to effect a drastic revolution overnight can only result in violence and bitterness, with the Negro suffering heavily, in the end. The great majority of the Negroes are in the South, and it is there primarily, that normally friendly white opinion is becoming alarmed, chiefly for the future of the black man. Explosions of serious proportions, both North and South, will be well nigh inevitable, if present tendencies continue, and race relations probably will be set back for decades, in consequence. This is the considered belief of men and women who are responsible for some of the major advances achieved thus far by the Negro, and who are earnestly desirous of seeing him succeed in achieving others.

FORUMS AND MORALE

(*Continued from page* 8)

lems today as interdependent members of the human race; as citizens, with full responsibilities, not only of our community and our country but of the world. It is a large order and requires the fullest use of our rational faculties, with a conscious determination to search for the truth regardless of consequences. Let us, in this effort, cultivate the forum method and apply it to the complex economic, social, and political problems with which we are confronted. After all, this is our war. It is a people's war for independence, and it is up to us to devise methods and techniques in order to bring the collective wisdom of the people before our leaders.

Yes, forums can help toward this end because forums have as their criterion justice rather than expediency. Those who believe in expediency may as well align themselves with the Axis now. The essence of totalitarianism is expediency. But those who have faith in justice and in man's capacity ultimately to attain it will align themselves with the United Nations, which are dedicated to the preservation of a form of government which will permit man to consult his conscience to discover what is just, rather than his followers to determine what is expedient.

One of the wisest men of this generation wrote a book about ten years ago called "The Dawn of Conscience." In this book the great Egyptologist, the late James H. Breasted of Chicago, pointed out the fact that man has been a war-making animal for perhaps a million years, but only during the past five thousand years has he been aware of his conscience. "If we can persist in this direction," Dr. Breasted points out, "we may yet be on the verge of an Age of Character."

I wonder if this is not what this war is all about: expediency versus conscience. Another great teacher told us how we could find the truth and through the truth achieve freedom. But few of us are aware that the familiar quotation is but a part of the whole sentence: "Then said Jesus to the Jews who believed on him, 'If ye follow in my way, then ye shall be my disciples indeed; *And* ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.'" Quite a different meaning from the one we infer when only half the sentence is used.

What Christ was telling us was that we must live according to the laws of life—of conscience—if we would find the truth, and that the truth would make us free to live more fully within those laws.

What is your own answer to

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

?

"A free man's right to cuss his government is a right which must be guarded as closely in the practice as in the possession."

From an address by the Librarian of Congress on June 17th.

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WAR AIMS AND PEACE PATTERNS

(*Continued from page* 10)

cause we remain enmeshed in the illusions which have hindered our vision. It says things which may seem obvious to some, but we are in danger of losing this war because they are not yet obvious to a very large part of the public.

Right thinking is the first preliminary to victory and peace. Mr. Reston's book, which is very well written, can help to make many think right and understand this war. It deserves wide distribution as a helpful prelude to victory. The same purpose is brilliantly served by a recent novel, Philip Wylie's "The Other Horseman," which should be in the hands of all Americans, especially of those who have neither the time nor the training to read more scholarly treatises. For the demand of the hour is to reach not only a small intellectual leadership, but the whole people. This is a people's war, not only because its fate is at stake, but because the outcome can be decided only by its wide awakeness to the issues involved. All around us tremendous changes are taking place; a new spirit is growing up in our relations with China and India, with Mexico and the Philippines, with Great Britain and the Soviet Union; in all the United Nations new creative forces are being released. We shall be able to win this war only by an intensification of our spiritual energies, by a cooperation of nations as never before, by an unremitting effort against lethargy and prejudice. It can be won only by the realization of democracy on a wider basis, by the application of its originally universal message.

All four books, and also Mr. Wylie's novel, agree with varying emphasis that the leadership in this common world order will fall to the American people. No "imperialism" is involved in that. The peace-loving peoples of Europe and of the Orient expect the American people to lead, they will welcome its leadership, and they will feel betrayed in their best hopes if the Americans again shrink from that responsibility. For no merit of ours, we are in a fortunate geographic position and we shall be, at the end of the war, probably less deeply disorganized economically than the Soviet Union, China, or Great Britain. But above all, the Americans are a "universal" people. The American nation was born in the eighteenth century, not in the continuation of ancient prejudices and privileges, but in a burst of the forward-looking rational liberalism and universal humanitarianism of the age of enlightenment. It regarded itself, and was thus regarded, as a fulfillment, under exceptionally favorable circumstances, of a universal hope and promise, as an example and a vanguard of mankind on its march to liberty. Moreover, the Americans are a new and "universal" race, a microcosmos of humanity, to which all races of the world have contributed, not only those of Europe, but fortunately also those of Africa and of the Orient. In the Declaration of Independence the new universal thought of the eighteenth century, of individual liberty and equality, found its first political realization. In the Declaration of Interdependence which is emerging from this war, the needs of the twentieth century for peace and progress towards more equality and liberty on this shrinking earth and the fulfillment of the American dream fuse.

Today's great war reading!

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Title and Author	*Crime, Place, and Sleuth*	*Summing Up*	*Verdict*
EXIT SCREAMING *Christopher Hale* (Crime Club: $2.)	Mysterious woman resident of midwest town found dead after nocturnal disturbances. State Policeman solves case.	Begins well and speeds satisfactorily through series of exciting and amusing situations to end that super-critical may sniff at.	Above average
OWLS DON'T BLINK *A. A. Fair* (Morrow: $2.)	Murdered man and vanished girl in New Orleans start D. Lam on trail that ends sardonically on Pacific coast.	Lam's methods as interesting as ever. Dialogue snappy, action speedy and plot well-tangled, also a trifle cloudy.	Good
DEATH RINGS A BELL *Cortland Fitzsimmons* (Lippincott: $2.)	Epidemic of deaths in Cape Cod town finally quelled by visiting psychologist.	People and setting O.K.; plot develops satisfactorily but ending seems tottery.	Gory
YOU CAN'T IGNORE MURDER *Ruth and Walter Teague* (Putnam's: $.2)	Correspondent's corpse in country swimming pool precipitates much talk and some successful semi-pro sleuthing.	Has certain shortcomings as straight detective story but is well characterized and filled with good talk and atmosphere.	Different

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THE CITIZEN SERIES

(*Continued from page* 11)

that the future accomplishments of our armed forces (with the ardent help of citizens in general and the nation as a whole) would be and must be worthy of those of the past. As the Series now stands, there is actually something of this in most of the books and almost enough in Hanson Baldwin's book on "The Navy" and Captain Craige's "The Marines" and Colonel Thompson's on "The Army Engineers." But more of it would improve them all.

These thoughts, as I have said, are pure hindsight. But since this splendid series should continue in usefulness not only for the war's duration but on into years of peace again—years of peace more military by far than the neglectful, wishful twenties and thirties—it should not be hard in revising them to strengthen their spirit. Captain Fort has already put such a touch in the foreword of the second edition of "What the Citizen Should Know about the Army" and the Binger-Railey Citizen book on "Civilian Defense"—the best in its field, and there are some other good ones—already contains the spirit I mean. Listen to this: "In the United States today there are only four forces; the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Home Force. In the ultimate sense there are no civilians." This thought pervades the whole book. But I suggest even here one small change for the better. Why not say, "There is only *one* force—the nation as a whole—and it has four main parts working together for victory: the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Home Force."

There are also matters beyond the books themselves that come to mind upon considering them now. For one thing their production has not been rushed. They have been issued three or four in each Spring or Fall book season and they are the better for deliberate handling. There are others to come. Yet thinking back now it is easy to see the urgency that would have justified the production of a many-volumed series at once. This, however, is no point of criticism, for the Citizen Series was originally conceived as a series modest in size and has simply grown further as the need for more titles became evident.

The form of the books is another point. There was every reason to plan them and bring them out as attractive books of normal size and price. They were sound, most carefully prepared books on all-important subjects. There was no reason to think of them in any other light. In the standard form, a reasonable attention from reviewers was assured, and they were durable for library reference use, a use for which they must unquestionably have been in heavy demand. Yet I cannot look at the "Citizen Series" without wishing it had been possible to spread them through thousands of outlets into hundreds of thousands of hands within and without the armed forces. This is one problem that now confronts American book publishing in general, and I haven't much doubt that a way will be found to solve it.

But just as it is, the Norton "Citizen Series," in my view of it as an individual member of the armed forces, has established from its inception the standard for all such books. I habitually judge the expository war books of other publishers by the ones in this series. I have found that I could honestly applaud each new group of volumes added to it. And I'm certain that high as the value of the "Citizen Series" has already been in our years of emergency and the year of the first phase of war, it continues to increase, and that through a continued revision of the older volumes and the addition of new ones, its contribution is one for the years.

Eighteen months ago Hendrik Van Loon began broadcasting, via short-wave, in Dutch to his native land. The broadcasts, which aimed to give the Dutch people their news and keep up their morale, have continued at regular intervals. The Nazis have now struck back—and in the usual way. His nephew now in his early twenties, disappeared two months ago. No news was heard from him for six weeks when his mother was finally informed of his whereabouts. What has become of him since is not known, but it is suspected that he was among the 124 young Dutchmen who were executed by the Nazis two weeks ago. The broadcasts still continue.

THE WRITER AND MORALE

(*Continued from page* 4)

"heroes" is long today—not in men as demigods of a certain race or culture—but in men as containing that spark of what we call "decency" which is the God in Men, and of men as beings who *can* and *will* build a better world for themselves and their brothers.

Men's minds being as erring as they are, to a certain extent we must take the will for the deed; but it seems, to this one writer at least, that such a will should animate the fraternity of writers. Indeed, in many striking instances, it does animate it. Against the doctrine of despising and crushing a brilliant race and exalting barbarous stupidity, against the universal grinning bully and the cynical oaf in office, against hysteric hate and the Father of Lies, against the worship of Might as Right and the dull ass's iron-shod hoof, against outright murder and plunder, men whose manhood does not consist in wielding rubber truncheons upon the unarmed and beaten down are speaking today all over the world, and with ponderable effect. *"The new faith is faith in things that are worth not only fighting and dying for, but also worth living for. It is a very old faith, because it is faith in the dignity and sanctity of the individual human being. It is also a new faith, because new means must be and are being found to secure the dignity and sanctity of human beings—to make men really free."*

That also Mr. Deuel said. That is the reason, as our Vice President said, that the common man is on the march. That is the democratic faith that our writers must keep before the people—and the faith that, this time, so help us almighty God, must not be betrayed!

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TRADE WINDS

THE ONE-MAN ARMY of the book publishing business is George Macy, who dreamed up the idea for the Limited Editions Club, the Heritage Club, and the Readers Club all by himself, and runs them in much the same manner. Always impressed and mystified by men who prefer to do themselves the tasks which could be performed by hired underlings, I wandered over to the Limited Editions office in the Fuller Building, where the genial Mr. Macy was plowing happily through a sea of title pages, publicity booklets, and lists of delinquent subscribers. I have some statistics for you.

George Macy first crossed my path when I was editing the Columbia *Jester* in 1920. In those days he was writing about four poems a day to a girl named Charlotte. In 1924, Macy founded the publishing house of Macy-Masius, but did not find sufficient scope for his talents in the publication of ordinary trade books. It was in the Spring of 1929 that he had his first great inspiration. That was the time, you will remember, when the Great Bull Market was in its final frenzied convulsions. Bootblacks owned five hundred Radio Common and several publishers had cash in the bank. Macy conceived the idea of a Limited Editions Club. His original plan—still intact after thirteen years of operation—was to print 1,500 copies of an elaborate edition of a classic each month, and sell them to enrolled members at ten dollars a copy, or $108.00 for the series, cash in advance. Older publishers scoffed at the idea that fifteen hundred people could be found who would buy books that way and at such a price, but Macy, grimly determined, went down to the New York Stock Exchange, and summoned his friend, Jack Straus, from the floor. "Jack," he said, "I need forty thousand dollars to launch a new project." "Is it a good idea?" asked Straus. "It certainly is," averred Macy. Straus listened no further. Remember that this was in Spring, 1929. He rounded up twenty checks for a thousand dollars each in about five minutes, added one for twenty thousand himself, and pressed them into the hands of the astonished Macy. "Some day you must explain this new project to me!" he said.

Macy points out, parenthetically, that these original backers have received a ten per cent dividend every year since the Club began, and opines that it's probably the soundest investment many of them ever made. Judging by the recent scale of transactions in Wall Street, I wouldn't even be surprised to learn that some of them are actually living on their Limited Editions dividends!

Fate ordained that the first publication of the new club—a handsome reprint of "Gulliver's Travels"—should come out on October 23, 1929, the very day on which the Wall Street bubble burst. It looked like curtains for Macy's grandiose scheme, but somewhat to his own amazement, his carefully planned campaign surmounted the growing panic, and by the end of the year, he not only had his 1,500 memberships subscribed, but an eager waiting list as well. It was at the very depth of the depression, in fact, in 1932, that this waiting list reached its all-time high. Today there are about sixty vacancies, but Macy says that one or two ads in the Fall will remedy that situation very speedily.

Macy goes through the motions of having the members vote for the titles that they want in the next year's series, but in the end it is he who decides on the list. He also picks the printers and artists, writes every line of the monthly promotion letters, dictates the advertising policy, negotiates for all rights, and, I suspect, refills the paper cups in the water cooler. He is constitutionally unable to dole work out to subordinates, and when, at rare intervals, he does repose trust in an employee, usually proves to have been a very bad picker.

Seventy per cent of the Limited Editions Club members are men. Hollywood is the happy hunting ground for prospects, and some of our biggest stars are charter subscribers. Little Penny March, daughter of Freddie March, once complained that she couldn't take a bath because her father had no more shelf-room for his new books, and had filled the bathtub with the latest consignment. All of them proved to be Limited Editions volumes.

The Heritage Club was Macy's second big promotion. It is a minor league Limited Editions Club: its twelves monthly selections cost the members only $27.00 a year. It now boasts over 9,200 members—the highest in its history, with an increase of over 2,000 since Pearl Harbor. Don't ask me why. Heritage books, unlike those of its parent club, can also be obtained in bookstores, but at higher prices. Three of them—"Lust for Life," with Van Gogh illustrations, a leather-bound "Song of Songs" with Valenti Angelo initials, and a "Mother Goose" with drawings by Duvoisin, have sold over 20,000 copies each. Macy makes little effort to woo the booksellers; direct mail is his pigeon, and only Harry Scherman, of the Book-of-the-Month Club, can turn out a more irresistible siren song. (A few months ago, Scherman did a circular for the then-current dividend, the two-volume Proust. It was a Random House publication, and two sets were on the shelf before us. My wife, however, was so overcome by the Scherman eloquence that she wanted to order a third set from the Club!)

We come now to the third and most daring of Mr. Macy's concoctions—The Readers Club, whose first book was mailed to subscribers in March, 1941. The Readers Club is based upon the theory that many of the best books have never achieved the popularity that they deserved, and that a public can be found who will buy twelve such volumes a year at a dollar apiece. Again Macy discovered few people in the publishing world who gave a hoot for the notion, but no one of them could find a word to say against the board of judges he collected for himself. Sinclair Lewis, Clifton Fadiman, Cary Van Doren, and Alexander Woollcott were rounded up by the persuasive Mr. Macy, and on the potent drawing value of his quartette, the Readers Club launched a series of high-powered advertisements that lured almost 140,000 members in a period of six months. This was ex-

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actly seven times the modest goal that Macy himself had set. The very first book—E. H. Young's "William"—went to 40,000 subscribers. The highest net was 84,000 copies. Present figures run between 60,000 and 75,000, and will probably slip somewhat lower this summer, since Macy plans no new advertising until the Fall.

The judges each receive one cent a copy royalty on every Readers Club volume that is sold, which is a modest windfall even for the interlocutor of "Information Please." All four of them must agree on a title before it is definitely approved, and I suspect that a few of the odd choices of recent months represent compromises designed to appease the erratic Mr. Woollcott, who is not my idea of a bargain on any committee that demands unanimity for its decisions. Woolcott is ailing on his island in Vermont at the moment, and Lewis is working on a new novel in Minnesota, but Macy tells me that the judges agreed on enough titles to finish out the year before they dispersed.

Macy himself is shy, extremely sensitive, and not overburdened with tact. He still calls me by my college nickname, "Beans"; every time he phones I think it's an old classmate trying to sell me life insurance. We were both in London in 1936, when Macy bought control of the Nonesuch Press as a sideline, and when Mr. Victor Gollancz, the famous English publisher, paid him a supreme compliment. "Wonderful job that chap Macy has done with that club of his!" declared Gollancz, whose self-appreciation has always been something more than adequate. "I'm damned if I could have done better myself!"

BENNETT CERF.

ANSWERS TO LITERARY QUIZ

1. mehitabel, in "archy and mehitabel," by Don Marquis.
2. "The Black Cat," by Edgar Allan Poe.
3. The Cheshire cat, in "Alice in Wonderland," by Lewis Carroll.
4. Dick Whittington.
5. The calico cat, in "The Duel," by Eugene Field.
6. Thomas Gray: "Ode on the Death of a Favorite Cat."
7. "Tobermory," by Saki.
8. "The Story of Webster," by P. G. Wodehouse.
9. Edward Lear: "The Owl and the Pussycat."
10. "The King of the Cats," by Stephen Vincent Benét.

Story of Our Schools

PROGRESS TO FREEDOM. By Agnes E. Benedict. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1942. 299 *pp., index.* $3.

Reviewed by BONARO W. OVERSTREET

I CANNOT say, as reviewers often do, that this is the book I have been waiting for. Until it was put into my hands, I did not know I needed or wanted to read such a history of our American schools. Now, however, I know that I needed it all the while. For at a time like this, when we are wondering more than ever why we behave as we do in our society, it is clarifying to follow through the successive aims and methods by which our schools have shaped our outlooks—and our outlooks have shaped our schools. To read this book is to get a refreshing slant on why we are as we are—neither better nor worse.

The history Miss Benedict tells is woven of three strands. There is, for one thing, the story of American life as it has been lived outside school walls—the life of Calvinist New England, of the practical frontier, of the growing industrial city, of the plantation South and the post-Civil War South. But this story is not told for its own sake; it is told in order that we may see how certainly our society has, in all times and places, made schools in its own image.

Then there is the story of our schools as experienced by individual students within their walls. From New England Jonathan to frontier John; from frontier John to urban Johnny—this is the story of children who, miserably or happily, have had their natures trimmed to fit what some going society has called good.

Woven through these two stories is the inspiring third—the story of the education pioneers: the men and women who have loved and labored new types of schools into existence.

The average American can, with no sense of unease, contradict himself more frequently and flatly on the subject of education than on almost any other subject. He boasts that he would not live in a community without good schools—but treats teachers with mild contempt, and argues that the real school is the hard school of experience. He considers educated people impractical—but wants his own children to have the best education he can give them in order that they may "get ahead." He believes that our schools should give society its leaders but that teachers who fix the attention of students upon the problems of society are dangerous radicals.

In part, no doubt, this muddlement merely reflects a larger muddlement that has pervaded every area of our life. But in part, also, it reflects the mixed character of the schools themselves—schools that express the different and often contradictory wills of the tax-paying majority, on the one hand, and of the educational pioneers, on the other. Miss Benedict's book is a clear invitation to every one of us to straighten out our fuzzy notions about what schools are and should be.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MORALE

(*Continued from page* 16)

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An analysis of the part that radio plays in the war of ideas and nerves.

Education Turns the Dial. G. Seldes, ed. New York: Jour. of Educational Sociology.
The role of education and adult education in radio.

Broadcasts In Coöperation with the NBC. The University of Chicago Round Table. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago.

Movies and the Theatre

The Literature of Adult Education. R. A., and L. Brody.
A handbook which gives an analysis of the value of the theatre and movie as instruments of influencing public opinion and sentiments.

The Morale of Continental and Militia Troops in the War of the Revolution. Microfilm. B. A. Bowman. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilm.

The Victory March: The Mystery of the Treasure Chest. W. and W. Disney, Ch. Juv. New York: Random.
The story in rhyme and pictures of the wolves who stole Donald Duck's Treasure Chest. Prepared at the suggestion of the Treasury Department. The book contains an officially approved album for U. S. Savings Stamps.

Eight Victory Films. New York: War Activity Committee.

Fun to Be Free. B. Hecht, and Cr. MacArthur. New York: Dramatists Service Play.
14 one-act patriotic plays by authors of repute and 7 three act plays, all Broadway titles.

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PERSONALS

ADVERTISEMENTS will be accepted in this column for things wanted or unwanted; personal services to let or required; literary or publishing offers not easily classified elsewhere; miscellaneous items appealing to a select and intelligent clientèle; jobs wanted, houses or camps for rent, tutoring, traveling companions, ideas for sale; communications of a decorous nature, expressions of opinion (limited to fifty lines). All advertisements must be consonant with the purpose and character of The Saturday Review. Ads of a strictly personal nature are limited to an exchange of correspondence, thus also enabling an exchange of reference. Rates: 10 cents per word including signature. Count two additional words for Box and Number. Payment in full must be received ten days in advance of publication. We forward all mail received in answer to box numbers. Address Personal Dept., Saturday Review, 25 West 45th Street, New York City.

YOUNG SCHOOL TEACHER wishes to correspond with gentlemen. Box 323-G.

ADMIRERS of Blasco-Ibanez, Old World Art, classic literature and the opera, are invited to write to this young woman. Box 322-G.

YOUNG MAN of scientific background and literary inclinations would write to not too young lady who relishes books, good food, letter-writer, and the sedentary life. Box 324-G.

MATURE YOUNG MAN, not sophisticated, but emotionally sensitive and understanding, would enjoy corresponding with congenial, down-to-earth woman. Box 325-G.

SUMMER AT PEMAQUID POINT, between a quiet bay for swimming and Maine's highest seacliffs for surf. Spruce woods, blueberry meadows, quiet. Lobsters, wood fires. Artists' paradise. Far away from arsenals, defense and ammunition plants. Reasonable. Bradley Inn, Pemaquid Point, Maine.

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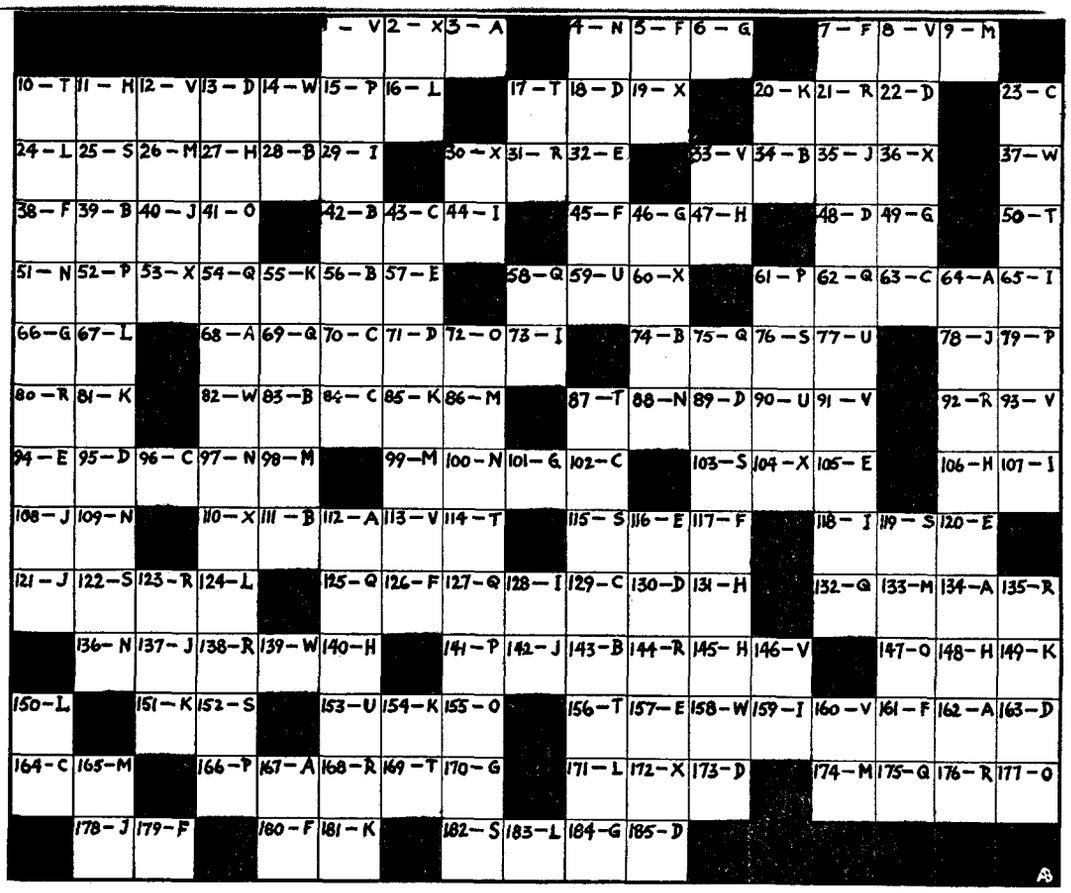
The Crostics Club

IT'S good to know that DC's bind members of a family group together, but not really unpleasant to hear that they sometimes create family squabbles. Judge Albert H. Enersen of Minnesota once wrote to ask me to use my influence with the *S.R.L.* editors to the end that the DC's should always appear on an advertising page. When he left Mondays on his Judicial circuit he liked, he said, to take the puzzling along as a restful diversion at the end of a day of attempted solution of domestic entanglements, whereas his wife wanted the literary part of the *Review*. (Isn't it Aldous Huxley who writes somewhere of advertising as a high form of *literary* art?) The Editors, being understanding, acquisced. Barry Faulkner, famous mural artist, and his sister do them together but solve the difficulty by using two copies!

Hugh Byas learned of his DC recently through a friend in British Columbia and writes generously:

"To find myself in a DC tickled me more pleasantly than almost anything else that has come out of my bookie. I thought of George Eliot: 'To live again in a DC made better by our presence' is certainly a kind of extended life. . . . What Mr. Grey said about DC's being a life-saver in times of stress was no exaggeration. Often have I come down from my office to the living-room at times when everybody in the house jumped a foot high if a truck stopped at the gate, and for an hour or two I could forget it all in a DC. It was more than mere forgetfulness; it was a way of coming back to a sane world where people still enjoyed simple, pleasant things. . . . I am all for reference books. The only reference books one used in Japan were a queer assortment, and hunting around a highly miscellaneous library on the trail of an abstruse query became an interesting game. If you knew your books it was wonderful how you could go sleuthing successfully in strange places. Besides—and this is perhaps more relevant—you have an international congregation to consider. How is a Britisher marooned in Tokyo to be sure he has got the right State in four letters if he can't turn up a mother-eaten 'World Almanac'? I invoke the Four Freedoms against those who would deny us the freedom of the reference book."

To continue with puzzling: very rarely does the first attempt break even, but with flexibility in the words a little juggling utilizes all the letters. If the adjustment proves difficult, however, good intentions can go where such sometimes do. You've no idea of the temptation I resist at such times to give you the purely scientific terms or the Scotch and English dialect words with which W. N. I. teems. They fit exactly! E. S. K.



Double-Crostics: No. 432

By ELIZABETH S. KINGSLEY

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-four words, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. The letters in each word to be guessed are numbered. These numbers appear under the dashes in the column headed WORDS. There is a dash for each letter in the required word. The key letters in the squares are for convenience, indicating to which word in the definitions each letter in the diagram belongs. When you have guessed a word, fill it in on the dashes; then write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square on the puzzle diagram. When the squares are all filled in you will find (by reading from left to right) a quotation from a famous author. Reading up and down the letters mean nothing. The black squares indicate ends of words; therefore words do not necessarily end at the right side of the diagram.

When the column headed WORDS is filled in, the initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Authority for spelling and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary (1940 edition).

The solution of last week's *Double Crostic* will be found on page 23 of this issue.

DEFINITIONS

A. English curacy immortalized by the Brontës.

B. Author of the novel "Garth" (1877).

C. Observant.

D. Applied to a large N. A. owl (2 wds.)

E. A table centerpiece of grouped receptacles.

F. To attend to with thoroughness (slang; 3 wds.)

G. Important 13th century Early English Biblical poem (with *The*).

H. Gathering size in the course of progress.

I. Of no force, ineffectual.

J. Till Eulenspiegel.

K. To put in minute details (3 wds.)

L. One centred in his own affairs.

M. An egg concoction.

N. Nurses to life or activity.

O. Dutch statesman (1625-72).

P. Bestows gifts for support.

Q. Lieutenant Governor of Virginia who sent Washington to meet the French at Ft. Necessity (1753).

R. Spirituality.

S. The sperm whale.

T. Brought into syntony (physics).

U. Soapstone and French chalk are some of its varieties.

V. In a barbarous manner.

W. Caused by (with *to*)

X. The backbone of higher forms.

WORDS

64 112 68 134 167 3 162

111 34 42 74 83 143 28 56 39

43 63 70 129 164 102 84 23 96

13 89 185 163 48 71 130 95 18 22 173

105 94 32 157 57 116 120

117 5 126 161 45 38 7 180 179

49 6 184 66 101 46 170

11 27 106 145 148 131 140

73 159 128 107 118 65 44 29

178 137 142 78 121 40 108 35

149 20 85 151 154 181 55 81

150 171 183 67 24 16 124

133 99 98 174 9 165 26 86

4 88 97 100 51 109 136

177 155 147 72 47 41

52 15 166 79 61 141

132 62 127 58 69 125 54 75 175

138 21 144 176 135 80 31 168 123 92

25 115 182 119 122 76 152 103

169 156 87 50 114 17 10

153 59 77 90

113 1 91 93 160 12 8 33 146

14 82 158 139 37

53 2 36 172 110 104 30 60 19

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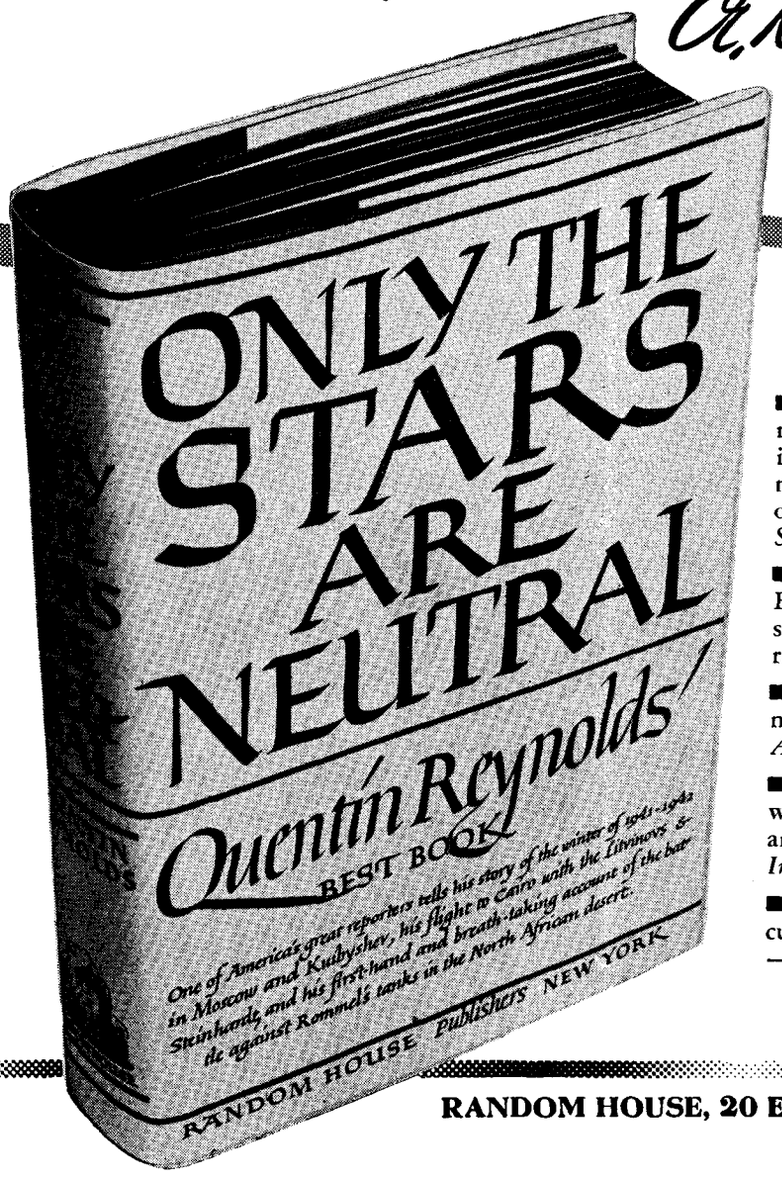
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